
The effect of certaine Sermons

TOUCHING

THE FULL REDEMPTION
of mankind by the death and bloud of
CHRIST JESVS:

WHEREIN

*Besides the merite of Christs suffering, the manner
of his offering, the power of his death, the comfort
of his Crosse, the glorie of his resurrection,*

Are handled,

What paines *Christ* suffered in his soule on the Crosse:

Together,

With the place and purpose of his descent to hel after death:

Preached at Paules Crosse and else where in London,
by the right Reuerend Father Thomas Bilson
Bishop of Winchester.

With a conclusion to the Reader for the cleering of cer-
taine obiections made against the said doctrine.

1. Corinth. 3.

I esteeme not to knowe any thing saue Christ Iesus, and him crucified.

Athanasius de Incarnatione verbi dei.

*Therefore the sonne of God tooke to him a bodie that might die, that, endu-
ing it with a reasonable soule, it might suffice for a full satisfaction to
Death for all.*

Imprinted at London by *Peter Short* for *Walter
Burke*, and are to be sold in *Paules Churchyard* at
the signe of the Flower deluce. 1599.

TONCHING

to build houses by the dead and blood of

CHRIST FEVER

WHEREIN

of his Cross, the blood of his redemption
of his life, and the power of his death, the comfort
Beside the merits of Christ's suffering, the reward

What pains Christ suffered in his soul on the Cross:

Togelber,

Which the place and purpose of his descent to inhabit earth:

Printed at Parker's Press and sold by the Author in London.

by the right Reverend Father Thomas Wilson

Bishop of Winchester.

With a conclusion to the Reader for the clearing of con-

...and the ...

It seems not to have been the case (Christ Jesus had him crucified).

At the time of the investigation, the following information was obtained:

There are two kinds of love, one is a love of the self, and the other is a love of the world. The love of the self is a selfish love, and the love of the world is a selfless love. The love of the self is a love that is based on the idea of the self, and the love of the world is a love that is based on the idea of the world. The love of the self is a love that is based on the idea of the self, and the love of the world is a love that is based on the idea of the world.

Printed by T. S. B. at the ...

2 ways and are to be told in Paul's Churchyard at

the figure of the flower below: 1799.



To the Christian Reader.



It is some time since (good Christian Reader) that lying in London, and preaching at Paules Crosse, as the feast of Easter drawing neer did admonish mee, I made choice to speake of the redemption of mankinde by the death and blood of Christ Iesus. And because that Cite then had, and yet hath, as manie learned and religious preachers; so some conceited and too much addicted to nouelties, who spared not in their Catechisings and readings, to vrge the suffering of the *verie paines of hell* in the soul of Christ on the crosse, as the chiefest part, and maine ground of our Redemption by Christ: I, finding how fast that opinion had increased, since it was first deuised, and doubting where it would end, thought it my dutie publikelie to warne them that were forward in defending this fanisie, to take heed how farre they waded in that late sprung speculation: For as these words of *Dauid*, *The sorrowes of hell besieged me*, and these of *Jonas*, *Out of the belly of hel I cried, & then heardst my voice*, may be tolerable applied to Christ, if they be metaphorically interpreted of Christ, as the scriptures meane them in *Dauid* and *Jonas*; so if wee grow from the figuratiue vse of the worde *HELL*, to the proper signification thereof, and rise from the degrees of for-

Psal. 18. & 116

Jonas. 2.

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rowes and feares, which pursue the Saints in this life, to the highest sense and suffering of ALL, and THE VERIE SAME paines and punishments which the damned do and shall endure for euer; freeing Christ from nothing but from the place and continuance of hell: vve make not a curious and superfluous, but an erroneous and dangerous addition to the mysterie of our Salvation.

The better to slacke their inconsiderate heate, I laboured to prooue these foure pointes vnto them. First that it was no where recorded in the holie Scriptures, nor iustlie to bee concluded by the Scriptures, that Christ suffered the true paines of hell; and so the Consciences of the faythfull coulde not iustlie bee forced to the necessarie beleeuing of anie such strange assertion. Secondlie, that as the Scriptures describe to vs the paines of the damned and of hell; there are manie terrors and torments, which, without euident impietie, cannot be ascribed to the Sonne of God; as namely *extreame Darkenesse, Desperation, Confusion, utter separation, reiection and exclusion* from the grace, fauour, and kingdome of God; *remembrance of sinne gnawing the conscience; horroure of Diuels tormented and tormenting, and flame of fire intolerable burning both bodie and soule.* Thirdlie, that the death and blood of Christ Iesus were euidentlie, frequentlie, constantlie set downe in the writings of the Apostles as the sufficient price of our Redemption, and true meane of our reconciliation to God; and the verie same proposed in the

figures

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figures, resembled in the sacrifices of the Lawe, and sealed with the Sacraments of the new Testament: as the verie grounde worke of our saluation by Christ; and so haue beene receaued and beleened in the Church of God foureteen hundred yeares, before anie man euer made mention of hell paines to bee suffered in the soule of Christ. Lastlie, where the Scriptures are plaine and pregnant; that Christ ^{died} for our sinnes, and by his ^{death}, destroyed him that had power of death, ^{even the Diuell}, and reconciled us, when we were strangers and enemies, IN THE ^{BODIE} OF HIS FLESH THROUGH DEATH, (for wee are reconciled to God, by the ^{death} of his sonne, and sanctified by THE OFFERING OF THE ^{BODIE} OF Iesus Christ once, who ^{himselfe} bare our sinnes in his ^{BODIE} on the Tree: where hee was put to death concerning the FLESH;) Besides that the holie Ghost in these places by expresse wordes nameth the bodilie death of Christ as the meane of our redemption and reconciliation to God: no considerate diuine might affirme or imagine Christ suffered the Death of the soule; for so much as the Death of the soule must exclude Christ from the grace, spirit, and life of God; and leaue in him neither faith, hope, nor loue, sanctitie, nor innocencie; which God forbid anie Christian man shoulde so much as dreame. VVee shoulde therefore do well to reuerence the manifest wordes of Gods Spirit in so high a pointe of Religion, and suffer our selues as schollers to bee taught by the leader into all truerth, what to beleue and confesse in the mystery of our redemption, and not to controule or correct the doctrine so

¹ 1. Corin. 15.

² Hebre. 2

¹ Colof. 1

¹ Rom. 5.

¹ Hebr. 10.

¹ 1. Pet. 2.

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cleerlie deliuered in the Scriptures, so consonantlie retained of all learned and vnlearned in the Church of Christ, for so many hundred yeares. And if any man to maintaine his deuise woulde inuent a newe hell and another death of the soule, then either scriptures or fathers euer heard or spake of, they shoulde keepe their inuentions to themselues; it sufficed me to beleue what I read; and consequently not to beleue what I did not read in the word of God, which is and ought to be the foundation of our faith.

Thus farre I purposed, when I first entered, by Gods grace to proceede in this cause, according to y simple vnderstanding wherwith god hath endued me for the good of his Church. The article of the Creed, Christ DESCENDED INTO HELL I meant not to meddle with; choosing rather to leaue y vntouched; then to presse any sense as a point of faith, for vvhich I had not so full and faire warrant; as for the redemption of man by the death and blood of Christ Iesus; but the vehemencie of some contradicting that I taught, and the importunitie of others requesting to knowe what they might safely beleue of that article, made mee to alter my minde. For whē some vrged, others doubted, that if Christ did not suffer the paines of hell whiles he hung on the Crosse, that part of the Creed was added in vaine; and the wordes of David, *Thou wilt not leave my soule in hell*; applied by ^a Peter vnto Christ in the second of the *Acts*, could hardly haue any good construction: (because it seemed faire for, and altogether repugnant to the proper signification of the wordes, to take the *soule* for the *bodye*, and *hell* for the *grave*; and as for the locall descent of Christ

to

ⁱ Psal. 16.
^a Acts 2.

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to hell after death; they counted that but a fable.) I was forced to promise that I would openlie deliuer, which I thought was the likeliest and safest sense, as well of that article in the Creede, as of those wordes of *David*, fulfilled in the person of our Sauour. This occasion drewe mee to the next question of Christs descent to hell. VVherin I resolved as by perusing the later part of this treatise will better appeare, that Christs descent to the verie place of hell after his death, did best concord both with the Creede, and with the truth of Christian religion, so we tooke care not to swaue fro the Scriptures, in setting downe the cause why he went thither: which was to ouerthrow & destroy the kingdom & might of Satan in the place of his greatest strength, even in hel; and as our head to free all his members from danger and feare of coming thither: the sorrowes and terrors whereof hee loosed vvith his presence, treading them vnder his feete, and rose againe into a blessed and immortall life, leading captiuitie captiue, and taking from hell and Satan all povver to preuaile against his elect.

Both these resolutions that Christ suffered *not the true paines of hell in his soule on the crosse*; and that hee *personallie conquered and disarmed the powers and terrours thereof before his resurrection*; some (as in such cases is common) misremembred, some misconstrued, and some misliked: whereupon I vvas both aduised and intreated by men of greater place then I vvill name; to put the effect of that vvhich I had deliuered in vvriting, that by mine ovvne vvords, and not by other mens conceits or reports, the learned inight iudge of the doctrine. VVhich I did that verie

Summer.

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Summer, and had it readie for the presse before Bartlemew-tide; but that the Parliament of States approaching, wherein men shoulde be otherwise imployed; and a great hurle raised against it by certaine popular preachers in that citie, through whose mouthes the contrarie had often passed to the people as currant, I was desired by the same persons againe to staie, till that time of businesse were ouerpast, that heat of contradiction somewhat alaid, and respite giuen that it might be translated into Latin, which also is now performed, as wel as published in English. To whose counsell I yeilded, referring the time wholly to their iudgements, notwithstanding I were by many traduced in many places as a teacher of strange and false doctrine. But I haue beene and am the more willing to beare the reproches of maligners, because I seeke not my selfe heerein, but that the church of Christ heere in Englande should hold fast that ancient and sure foundation of faith which hitherto it hath kept; and professe that doctrine touching our Redemption by Christ, which as wel the publike lawes of this realme, as all the catholike fathers do uphold and allow.

In setting downe the summe of that which I preached, I neither do, nor can promise thee (gentle Reader) the same words which I then spake; I wrote them not; but I assure thee before him that knoweth all things, that I haue not swarued nor altered anie materiall point from the methode, propositions, proofes and conclusions, which I then vsed, nor from the wordes as farre as either my notes, or my memory vpon the fresh soote could direct mee; which I haue yet to shew. Manie proofes and authorities I omitted

in

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in the pulpit, which the time shut me from; and some obiections I haue answered here more largelie, then the course of Sermons would permit: but here is the selfe same in effect, which then I vttered and purposed, if the time would haue suffered. The manner of handling this question, I alwaies wished might bee temperate and sober, as best became christian professors and teachers; least by catching aduantages besides the cause, wee increased quarrels, and so much regarded our credits that wee neglected the truth. I haue therefore in the Treatise it selfe touched no mans name, oppugned no mans wordes, traduced no mans iudgement; but admitting and retaining as much as I thought might stande with the truth, I haue pared off certaine extremities, and reiected certaine additions, which the first inuentors did refraine; for that Christ suffered the death of the soule, or all the same tormentes, which the damned do and shall, are positions lately coined, and deriued from the proportion of Gods iustice as they call it, but as I thinke from presumption of mans reason intruding into Gods secrets. The doctrine which I defend, that we are sufficientlie redeemed by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus, (without adding of hell paines to bee suffered in the soule of Christ) hath the constant, full, and expresse warrant of the Scriptures, and the like approbation from al the fathers without exception. And therefore howsoeuer some men may despise all ancient writers, and frustrate the scriptures with their figures; al sober and wise christians will, I doubt not, beware how they admit this strange and late found nouelty into their Creede or consciences, The second point I presse not

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with like vehemencie, because it hath not like certaintie. So long as we confesse (which the Scriptures do confirme) that Christs humane nature after his extreame humiliation on the Crosse, & before his resurrection, conquered & spoyled not death only, but hell & Satan also, of al their power & right ouer y^e faithful, & ascending on hie *lead captiuitie captiue*, & tooke the *keyes of death and of hell* into his owne hands; with the precise maner and hower I will not burden anie mans conscience, that cannot be perswaded by reading the latter part of this treatise; though I my selfe, after long & diligent search, find no sense so agreeable to y^e words of the Creede, so answerable to the rules of the sacred Scriptures, and so fullie followed by all the Fathers, as Christs descent to the verie place of hell for the purposes aforesaid.

Hauiug premonished thee (Christian reader) of thus much, I am not willing to detayne thee anie longer from vewing and examining the booke it selfe, but onelie to tell thee that whiles I staid the printing hereof, till others did like it, as wel as my self, one more hastie then either aduised or learned, calling himselfe H. I., would needes traduce it and confute it before he saw it, resting belike on such notes, as his angry mind and brickle memorie tooke at the time when I preached of these points. Vwherein though others condemne his follie, yet I commend his pollicie, that least hee should trouble himselfe with more thē he could answere, he thought it y^e best way to come into the field alone, and like a stout Champion fighting with his owne shadow; to say no more thē he would be sure to deny or decline with one
shift

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shift or other. To make the easier conquest of that I preached, hee cleane changeth the state of the first Question, hee offereth to prooue that which I neuer denied, hee confuteth that which I neuer affirmed, hee runneth at Random no man can tell whither, hee peruerteth my wordes, hee maymeth my reasons, hee skippeth all my authorities; hee scornefullie reiecteth the iudgement of the Fathers when I alleage them, the Scriptures hee turneth and windeth at his pleasure, he wadeth desperately through thicke and thinne in matters of most importance, his best reason is euerie where his own opinion, outfacing the world with his ignorance; in summe, he sheweth vs by his example what it is for a man in matters of faith to despise both 'authoritie and antiquity, and trust onely to his own fancie. Such an opponent the wiser sort will thinke I were better neglect then encounter, which resolution I my selfe do retayne; onely lest my silence should augment his boldnes, I thought it not amisse in the conclusion severed from the treatise, to giue thee a tast of the rashnes and weaknes of his enterprise, intreating thee in the meane time to reade aduisedly and iudge indifferently, for that the cause is weighty and toucheth thee as neere as mee. For if we suffer the mayne foundation of our faith and hope in Christ to be wrenched neuer so little awrie; the whole building is more endangered then wee are ware of. In Gods causes, let Gods booke teach vs what to belecue, and what to professe. If thou thinke it thy duetie in matters of faith to beware of vnwritten verities, in the greatest point of all, which is our redemption by Christ; take heede

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thou easilie admit not vnwritten absurdities. This
matter began in more generall and more tolerable
tearmes, if they might bee rather soberly mitigated,
then too vehemently pressed; but as when we runne
downe an hill we can hardly staie; so in matters of re-
ligion when we fal to inuenting beyond the scriptures
we quickly misse and seldome recouer the truth. Fare-
well (gentle Reader) and pray that our thoughts and
wits may be subiected to the truth of Gods word,
and that wee loath not the simplicitie
which is in Christ.



THE FULL REDEMPTION of mankind, by the death and blood of Christ.

GALATH. 6. verse. 14.

**Be it far from me to reioice but in the Crosse
of Christ.**



So the naturall man no where li-
keth nor alloweth the things of
God, because they seeme foolish-
nes vnto him: so of all the waies
and woorkes of God there is
none, that more displeaseth and
offendeth the vnbeleuer, then
the Crosse of Christ. Wee
preach Christ crucified (saith the
Apostle) vnto the Iewes a stumbling
blocke, vnto the Grecians foolishnes.
The Grecians fancying
nothing but worlde lie wisedome,
and fleshlie reason, coun-
ted it a shame folly for the sonne of God,
to leaue his Throne
of glorie in the heauens, and as a man amongst men;
to take of him selfe infirmitie;
and to suffer a cruel and shamefull
death at the hands of his enemies.
The spite of our Re-
demption, for whose sakes hee died,
and the power of his re-
surrection, by which hee raised vs
to the inheritance and ex-
pectation of a better life, they did neither
conceiue, nor be-
leue; and therefore they reiecte his birth,
and specially his
death, as a dreame of simple and vnlearned men,
such as

1. Corinth 1.
The crosse of
Christ despised
both of Iewes
and Gentiles.

2 The full redemption of mankind;

they took the Apostles to be. The Jewes having their eares full of those excellent promises, which God made by his prophets, concerning the kingdome of the Messias, and referring them to an earthlie king, that should sit on the throne of David, brusing his enemies with a rod of Iron, and ruling the world with iustice and equitie: when they sawe the weake and base condition of our Saviour, in outward he is promising nothing but reproch and penurie; they so disdainned and detested him, that they could not bee quiet, till they had crucified him; being then, and ever since ashamed, and grieved that aunc should saie, or thinke, he was the Messias, so much spoken of in the prophets. Thus the Jewes looking for wonders, and the Grecians for Wisedome, did both condemn the crosse of Christ: the one of weaknesse, the other of foolishnesse: and for that cause fell at the stone of offence: but such as were called, both Jewes and Gentiles to bee heires of the promise, did plainelie perceave, and fullie confesse Christ crucified to be the mightie power, and manifold wisedome of God for their everlasting iote and blisse; and were so far from being ashamed of Christs sufferings, that they were willing partakers and open reioicers in the crosse of Christ, as the Apostle here saith of himselfe. Be it farre from mee to reioice, but in the Crosse of Christ, by which the world is crucified to me, and I to the world. And indeede if we beholde Christ crucified with carnall eyes, as did the Jewes, wee shall see nothing in him but earthlie weaknesse; and deadlie woundes, as they saue: but if we bend the eyes of our faith to the truth of his person, and to the force and fruite of his death, as must all his saints; we shall finde the power and wisdome, iustice and mercie of God so tempered in the crosse of Christ for our good; that by his paines we are eased, by his stripes we are healed, his weaknesse is our strength, his shame is our glorie, and his death our life: for the refore doth the Apostle professe, that he did, and we should not reioice but in the crosse of Christ.

And where hee saith, he did reioyce in nothing but in the crosse of Christ; hee hereby teacheth vs to repose all our faith and

What it is to
the belecuers.

Galath. 6

by the death and blood of Christ 3

and hope, as well as our joy, in the favour of God, which Christ hath purchased for us, by his death and blood. Reioice in hope, saith the Apostle; that is in the expectation, not in the present fruition of heauenly things, which God hath prepared for all that loue him. No hope without faith there can bee none. Faith is the ground worke of that wee hope, for so we can we with patience looke for that, which we doe not beleue wee shall receiue: The doubting of Gods promises is the plain distrust of them; and breedeth rather a feare we shall misse them, then an hope to enioie them; and in feare there is **PAIN**, as saint Iohn saith, and no **IOIE**. There as there is no perfect ioy, but in hope assured by faith, so if we must not reioice but in the crosse of Christ, our faith and hope must wholly depende on that peace and attonement, which Christ hath made betwixt God and us, by the shedding of his precious blood for our sakes; that is by his crosse. Since therefore Christ crucified is the wisdom and power of God to save all that beleue, and the crosse of Christ is the full support of all our faith, hope and ioy, there is no one point in christian religion, that more mainely concerneth, and neerely toucheth the saluation of our soules, then the right vnderstanding and only relying on the crosse of Christ; least we mistake the truth or distrust the force thereof, to the dishonour of Christ, and danger of our owne soules.

To prevent this perill, I thinke best to observe this order in that which shall be saide, to shew first what the Crosse of Christ **CONTAINETH**, next what the crosse of Christ **PERFORMETH**: that knowing the contents and effectes of Christs crosse, I meane the paines which he suffered; and the worke which he accomplished by dying on the crosse, we may be settled and assured, how far it extended, and what it effected for vs.

To begin with the **CONTENTS** of Christs crosse: The crosse is sometimes taken in the Scripture for all manner of afflictions. He that will come after me, let him denie himselfe, and take vpon his crosse and follow me. He that doth

Rom. 12

Hebr. 11

1. Iohn. 4

The methode
of this treatise.

Luke. 9
Math. 10

4 The full redemption of mankind,

*De pass. dom.
cap. 5.*

The crosse taken for all kind of affliction.

not take up his Crosse and follow me, is not worthy of me! In this sence, saith Bernarde, The whole life of Christ was a crosse and a martyrdom. The reason why Christ so blest the woode (so he first blest it) was, for that he saw before hand, that going to his crosse he should taste all kindes of calamities: and so came it to passe. For betwene his last supper, and his death, hee was betrayed of Iudas, abused of Peter, forsaken of all his followers; hee was wrongfully imprisoned, falsely accused, vniustly condemned; he was buffeted, whipped, scorned, reviled; he endured colde, nakednes, thirst, wounding, hanging, shame, reproch, and all sortes of deathlie paines; besides heavinesse of heart, and agonie of mind, which oppressed him in the garden. Mighte then make the crosse note all manner of miseries; forasmuch as our Sath our going from the garden to the graue, suffered all sortes of afflictions: notwithstanding this is no different signification, but rather a participation of the crosse of Christ.

The church of Rome hono-
reth the crosse
and dishono-
reth the death
of Christ.

The Church of Rome hath wedded a great part of her devotion to the crosse of Christ; but vnder that name she ad-
dresseth the matter and forme of the crosse; as for the force and effects of Christs death, which is remission of our sinnes, satisfaction of Gods wrath, and donation of eternall life, the pop-
e sigall is imparteth that to her pilgrimages, pardons, epi-
gatoic, yea to the works and prayers of quicke and dead; and so magnifying the signe and wood of the crosse, she dishono-
reth the merite and fruite of Christs crucified. But of her pain-
ted and carved crosse, the scripture maketh no mention, and
therefore I shipt it, rather as a manifest illusion; then as the
signification of the crosse of Christ.

What the scrip-
tures meane
by the crosse
of Christ.

Most commonlie in the Scriptures by the crosse of Christ, the holie Ghost meaneth the person suffering, and the paine
suffered on the crosse, that is, the punishments and torments
which the sonne of God suffered for our sinnes, after he was
fastened to the tree: the rest which went before, not being ex-
cluded as superfluous, but continued and increased by that
sharpe and extreme martyrdom which he endured on the
crosse.

by the death and blood of Christ.

crucified. And so Christ crucified as the scriptures describe him, hanging from top to toe, no part free from paine and griefe; but hanging on the wood, having his flesh torne with whippes, his cheekes smitten with buffetts, his face defiled with spittle, his head stuck full with thornes, his eyes defiled for shame, his eares burning with taunts, his mouth soaked with vinegar, his hands and feet wounded with iron spikes, his bones unjointed, his sinewes pitched and strained, his whole body hanging by the forewille of his hands and feet, and lastlie (though he were first dead) his heart pierced with a spear, whence issued blood and water. His bodie thus wounded and tortured unto death, his blood thus shed, and as it were poisoned on the earth, are said in the scriptures to be the ransom of our sinnes, and price of our redemption. He bare our sinnes in his body upon the Crosse (saith Peter) and again, "You are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lambe without spot and undefiled." I do not amplify the bodilie paines which Christ suffered, of purpose to make them seeme greater then they were; I find my selfe rather unable to expresse them; but least wee should too much diminish them, and aske, What great matter it was for him to go securely, and as it were sportingly to his death, I thought good to sticke to touch them, and leave the fuller and further consideration of them to the goodie at their private leisure.

In the meane tyme I may not omit in his Stripes, Thomas Crucifying and Death, to observe that to which the Reader will happilie overskippe in the historie of his passion, unless hee be both advised and learned. In his STRIPES I note, that Pilate having a purpose to save the life of Christ, and not neglecting to satisfy the people that were incensed against him, caused him extremely to be whipped; and he went to the people in that plight with these words, *Ecce homo* Behold my man; to let them see that Christ had received very sufficient correction, no more being needed against him, and so to withhold them from seeking his death. In CROWNING him with thornes, the soldiers did not onely torment him

1 Peter 2.
1 Peter 1.

The paines of
Christs crosse.

1 John 19

6 The full redemption of mankind,

a thicke crowne of thornes, to strike his head full of them: but after the putting it on, to fasten it; they did strike him on the head with their Canes, as ^m Matthew and Marko do plainly testifie. In NAILING him to the Crosse, besides the greatnesse and sozenesse of his wounds, which were woe: this to be marked, they so strained his bodie least hee should stirre hand or fote, that all his bones might bee numbred. The greatnesse of his woundes David bewailed by these wordes: ^a *Foderunt manus meas, & pedes meos*; they digged my handes and my fecte; noting howe wide woundes they made in both, which were rather digged than pierced; and so bigge were the nailes, as the Ecclesiasticall historie reporteth, that Constantine made of them (when his mother had found them in the mount where Christ was crucified) ^o A bridle, and an helmer for his otone vse. How tender and sensible the hands & feet are aboue other partes of the bodie, and what paine and anguish the pricking, straining and tearing of the sinewes, ligaments and ioynts in either (which are verie thicke, and full of sense in both those places) did breede and kindle in the whole bodie, nature can teach vs without any further profe. Of RACKING his ioynts, Bernard maketh this collection out of Dauid: ^p *Tantum distans sum a corpore nudo in modo Tympanica pellis distans, facile possunt omnia ossa mea dinumerari*. I am so strained (saith he in the person of Christ) that my bodie naked being stretched like the head of a timbrell (or drum) all my bones may be numbred. If this profe reach not home, Dauid hath plainer and expresse wordes, in the 14. verse of the same Psalm, which cannot be contradicted. *HITH PAREPV. i. Separauerunt se omnia ossa mea*. All my bones are out of joint, or pulled one from the other. In this horrible torment of Stripes, Thornes, Wounds, Sinewes and ioynts, our Saviour hang on the crosse aboue three houres, in most perfect sense, with most extreme paine, till the verie instant that hee breathed out his soule. A violent death by fyre, or otherwise, our Saviour might happilie haue suffered; but a more painfull, with perfection

^m Matth. 27.
Marke. 15.

^a Psa. 22.

^o Socrates lib. 1.
cap. 17

^p De pass. dom.
cap. 7.

by the death and blood of Christ. T 7

of patience, neuer martyr, much lesse malefactor, did or could endure.

The torments of others when they are violent, do either hasten death, or surkeine the sense, and so the paine when it is most grievous, is least perceived. In Christ there was no such thing. He died not by degrees as we do; his senses did not decay, no pangs of death took hold of him, but in perfect sense, and perfect patience both of bodie and soule, he did voluntarily and miraculously resigne his spirit (as hee was praying) into his fathers handes. Longer tortures others haue endured, but neuer greater for the time, nor with like patience. For in all men (Christ excepted) though the spirit be neuer so willing, & the measure of faith neuer so strong, yett unless it please God to shorten or lighten the rage of their paine, the flesh repineth at the present anguish, howsoeuer grace support the soule, that it sink not vnder the burthen.

But He which shortneth and lighteneth the force of torments in his saints when they be grieuous, in his owne would doe neither. He spared not himselfe, that knoweth how to spare his; but suffered and indured all to the bittermost, with so exact obedience and patience, that he did not shrink at the paine, nor strive with death, but yielded so voluntarie a sacrifice to god, that in the sharpest torments he made no shew of sense: nor suffered his flesh so much as to tremble or struggle with paine or death. The manner of sending by his soule the Scriptures and Fathers do carefullie obserue, Saint Iohn thus describeth it. When Iesus had tasted of the vinegar, hee said (all) is finished, & bowed his head, and gaue vp the Ghost.

Whereupon Bernard saith: It is a great infirmity to die, but so to die, doth plainlie proue an infinite power. St. Luke reporteth that Iesus cried with a loud voice (to the to himselfe to be free from any touch of death) and saide, Father into thy handes I commend my spirit. Whereupon Hierom obserueth, that the Centurion hearing his prayer, and seeing him

spiritum sponte dimisisse, presently of his owne accord to send forth his spirit, *Commotus signi magnitudine*, mooued with the

Christ had no pangs of death but perfect sense of paine vnto the end.

Bernard de pasi, dom. ca. 41.

He died voluntarily. Iohn. 19.

Serm. 4. Hebdomada penult. Luk. 23.

Statim. quæst. 8. ad Medibim.

greatnesse

§ The full redemption of mankind

greatnesse of the wonder, *Isaie* 53. Truly this man was the sonne of God. Augustine largely handling the manner of his death saith; Who can so sleepe when he wil, as Christ died when he would? Who can so laie aside his garment at his pleasure, as Christ laide aside his flesh? Who can so leaue his place, as Christ left his life? with how great power shall he come to iudge, that shewed so great power when he died? Christ himselfe satisfieth these obseruations with his owne words in the Gospel of saint Iohn 10. None taketh my soule from mee, but I laie it downe of my selfe. By this we may perceiue, the continuation of the humane nature with the Diuine in the person of Christ was so fast knit sure, that neither sinne, death, nor hell assaulting our Saviours, could make any separation, no not of his booke; but he himselfe of his owne accord must put off his earthlie tabernacle, that dying for a season he might conquer death for euer; and so the laying downe of his life was no imposed punishment, nor forceable inuasion of death upon him, but a voluntary sacrifice for sinne rendered vnto God for our sakes, to appease the wrath and satisfie the curse, which our manifold wickednes had most iustlie deserved.

Thus farre without feare we may freely extend the crosse of Christ by the warrant of the holie scriptures. Some men in our daies stretch it a great deale farther, to the death both of booke and soule, and to the WHOLE PAINES OF THE DAMNED IN HELL; but vpon how fast grounds, when you heare, you may iudge as you see cause. This opinion hath growen by degrees; and euerie daie taketh heere increase. At the first, men contented themselves to thinke Christ suffered the paines of hel, that is great and intolerable paines; which metaphoricall kind of speech the scriptures will beare; if we conclude no worse meaning with those words; Out of the bellie of HELL, (saith Ionas) I cried and thou heardest my voice. The sorrowes of HELL compassed me about (saith Dauid) and the griefes of HELL tooke hold of me. Some others affirme, that Christ, in sustaining the wrath of God due to vs, wrestled with the vertie powers of hell that sought to

Tract. 119. in Iohan.

Iohn. 10.

How the opinion of Christ suffering hell paines hath growen by degrees.

*Ionas. 2.
Psal. 118.
Psal. 116.*

by the death and blood of Christ. 9

to fasten on him, and howsoever beholding the terror of Gods vengeance provoked by our sinnes, he did sometimes tremble, yet by firme faith alwaies fixed on God, he repelled and repelled those assaults of Satan, and so saved not himselfe onely, but vs also. This might be indured if men could stay here; & it were to be wished, that in matters of so great weight and danger, we would rather try where we are, then hasten to go onward. But as water breaking her bankes still runneth and neuer stayeth; so some lighting on other mens inuentions neuer leaue adding till they marre all. In the case which we haue in hand, the name of Hell paines being once admitted into the worke of our redemption, some in our daies will no way, but that Christ on the crosse suffered the selfesame paines in soule, which the damned do in hell, and endured euen the death of the soule; yea others auouch that hee sustained farre greater torments then anie are in hell, to wit, as much paine in 15. houres, as all the faithfull should haue suffered euerslastingly, and that as well in body as in soule. To these dangerous deuises are some men apt in our time. And because I knowe not when or where they will make an ende, I thinke it needfull for discharge of my dutie, and direction of your faith, as well to set downe certaine limits beyond which you may not go, as also to rectifie such extremitie as by no meanes may be closed in the crosse of Christ, without apparant impietie.

The paines of hell (if I be not deceiued) make a fourfold impression in the soules of men; a carefull feare, which declineth them; a doubtfull feare, which consisteth with them; a desperate feare which sinketh vnder them, and a damned feare which suffereth them. The first is and must be in all the godlie; and chiefly in Christ himselfe: For the more we loue God, the more wee detest and shunne all separation from God. Hell therefore which is an utter exclusion from the kingdome of God, is most iustly abhorred of all his saints, and spectallie of his owne Son: who not onely by will, but by nature is one with his Father. A conflict with Hell

How many impressions the paines of hell make in the soule of man.

o1 The full redemption of mankind,

if it come not from the inward motion of the mind, is but a temptation to trie the heart, or shew the strength of the godlie. So was Adam tempted in Paradise by Eue, and Eue by the Serpent, to proue howe mindfull they were, and thankful they would be for the blessings of God bestowed vpon them. So was Christ tempted in the wilderness by Satan, and all his life long by the wicked, which were to him but occasions to declare the innocencie and integritie of his humane nature. But the inward temptation of the heart and conscience, though it bee in all the children of Adam, (the elect themselues not excepted,) by reason of the flesh lusting agaynst the spirite, their conscience accusing them for sinne, and their faith sometimes fainting; yet in Christ wee must graunt no such thing, because in him there was neither corruption of flesh, nor remorsse of sinne, nor weakenesse of faith, that shoulde anie kinde of waite breede or yeelde to the worne, that gnaweth at our consciences. A desperate feare is when the wrath of God awaketh the wicked to knowe and acknowledge, what vengeance is prepared for them, in the life to come, and so hauing lost both faith and hope, they fall to an horrible expectation of iudgement, and flaming fyre, which shall denounce the aduersarie. But yet euen these men, whose case is most despaired, are not while they liue heere on earth, in the true paines of Hell, but are as farre from that, as expecting is from suffering. The last I knowe not howe to call, but by the name of a damned, rather paine, then feare; which the wicked departed this life doe presentlie feele. For paine that is present, inflateth rather torment, then feare; since feare is properlie the trembling at euill, before it come, and not the grieuing at it, when it is come. Of these foure impressions, yee see which I attribute vnto Christ, and which not. Despairing, or so much as doubting of his saluation, we cannot ascribe to him without euident impletie. And as for Christs suffering the same

by the death and bloud of Christ. I I

same paines which the damned soules in Hell doe, to my simple understanding, it is rather a dreame then a doctrine to bee taught in the Church of Christ. Did they denie as great sense and anguish of paine to haue borne in Christs bodie or soule, as hell fire doth inflict to the damned, though that were a verie presumptuous and audacious position, yet is it not so impious, as when they affirme he suffered the self same which the damned do. For the damned haue many sorts of paines in hel, which by no means could fasten on Christs person; and since there be degrees of paine in hell euen for the damned; these curious teachers must shewe vs which of these degrees Christ suffered, & by what warrant of gods word, they adiuuge the very paines of hell to the crosse of Christ.

To perswade them to hold fast the forme of wholsom words, which the holy ghost obserueth throughout the scriptures, I feare is but lost labour; hauing lighted on a strange doctrine, they are forced to vse strange speeches, such as no where are found in the word of truth, expressing mans redemption by the death and bloud of Christ; yet somewhat to rebate the heat of such as despise all other sufferings of Christ in respect of their hell-paines, I think it not amisse to examine the weight of those allegations and reasons that are brought to support their assertion. The proofs that are pretended for this opinion may be recalled to three principal heads, which are these, **PREDICTIONS** that Christ should suffer the paines of hell in soul; **CAUSES**, why he must suffer them; **SIGNES** that he did suffer them. Predictions, that Christ should suffer the paines of hel are cited these, ^aThou wilt not leaue my soule in hell: and againe, ^bThe sorowes or streights of hell haue found me out, & belet me round. The causes why he must suffer them are enlarged by some into many branches, but may bee contracted into these two; **THE PART** that chiefly sinned in man; & the **VVAGES** due to man for sin. **THE WORKE** of sin appeared first & most in the soul of Adam; therefore in satisfaction for sin, the soul of Christ, as they say, must properly & principally suffer

2.Tim.1.

The proofes which are brought that Christ suffered the paines of hell.
^a Psal. 16.
^b Psal. 18.

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suffer. The **VVAGES** of sin is expressely death both of soule and bodie, and therfore **Christ**, as our suretie and for our finnes, must taste of both, (as they affirm) before he can discharge vs from both. Signes that he did suffer, were his **AGONIE** in the garden, when he sweat blood; which for a corporall death he would neuer haue don: his **COMPLAINT** on the crosse; that he was forsaken of God, which (as they thinke) proueth he felt in soule a most fearefull iudgement of God, pronounced against our finnes. To euerie of these I will speake in order, that finding the weaknesse of their foundation, we make the sooner see the lamenesse of their conclusion.

Predictions
that Christ
should suffer y
paines of hel.
August. epi. 99

To the first I might answer with **Saint Austen**; these wordes of **Dauid** specifie not anie suffering of hell paines on the crosse, but rather a descent to the place of hell. That the Lord after his bodie was dead came to hell is certaine enough; for neither can the prophetic be contradicted, which said, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell; (which least anie man shoulde dare otherwise to interpret, **Peter** in the **Acts** of the **Apostles** so expoundeth;) nor the wordes of **Peter** bee auoided, where hee saith that **Christ** brake the sorrowes of hell, the which could not possible take hold on him; who then but an infidell will denie that **Christ** was in hell? But with antiquitie I will not bidge them; if the text doe not refuse their exposition, I will release them this authoritie. That this saying of **Dauid** doth not import anie paines suffered while **Christ** liued, but some honour done to his soule after his death, make these wordes be proued; by the wordes next pracedent, by the words next adioyned, and by the application which **Peter** maketh, when he citeth this place. The wordes next before, (which are these, ^d My flesh shall rest in hope) note **Christ**s bursall: and this is brought as a reason why **Christ**s bodie should rest in hope, not on the crosse where it had no rest, but in the graue after he was dead; because thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. If this respected any thing endured on the crosse, the holy ghost must haue saide in the person of **Christ**, because **THOU HAST NOT LEFT MY SOULE IN HELL**: the paines, and
time

Psal. 16.

by the death and bloud of Christ. 43

time were both past; but he speaketh in the future tense, & of future things, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. And this was the hope in which Christ died. Now hope neuer tendeth to things past and known, but to that which is to come. This therefore toucheth something consequent after Christs death, which he hoped for when he died, and not any paines suffered on the crosse, or in the garden, whiles he liued. The words answered infer the same. ⁴ Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, ⁴ Psal. 16. nor suffer thine holie one to see corruption. Both these being iointlie spoken of Christ, must both bee iointlie verified in Christ; therefore Christs soule must then not bee left in hell, when his flesh lying in the earth saue no corruption. They may not bee seuered in performance, which the holie ghost knitteth together in coherence. Lastlie Peter in plaine words saith, ⁵ Dauid spake (this) of Christs resurrection. If this concerned his resurrection, then not his passion on the crosse; but after death, and before he rose, as his flesh saue no corruption; So his soule was not left in hell. Yea, God raised him vp (as Peter saith) breaking the sorrowes of death (or hell before him) of which it was impossible he should be held; & not that hee was euer in them, and so loosed them, as a man doth chaines, wherewith hee was once bound: but as the snares of hunters (saith Austin) are broken, *Ne teneant, non quia tenuerunt*: before they take hold, not after they haue taken holde. ^{99.}

For Christ was to rise againe, not as others before him were restored to this present life; but as the full and first conquerour of death and hell, hee was to rise both in bodie and soule to eternall & celestiall glory; and therefore he brake, when he rose, the paines and powers of death and hell; that they should not preuaile for euer against him or his.

The other places of the Psalmes, haue as manie answers as they haue wordes; for euery word is an answer. First Dauid speaketh of himselfe, not of Christ; and Dauids words to Christs person we may not refer at our pleasures, without farther and better warrant. Again, Dauid doth not saie, the TORMENTS, but the SNARES, or STREIGHTS

⁵ Acts 2.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ August epist.

99.

⁸ Psal. 18. &

116.

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of DEATH, as well as of HELL (for the worde Sheol in
differentlie signifieth both, if there bee none other circum-
stance to limite it to either; and David by the rules of diuini-
tie was neuer here on earth in the true paines of the dam-
ned, haue FOUND me out, as BESET, and besieged mee,
but not oppressed, nor overwhelmed me. And if we take the
name of HELL neuer so properly, it is no inconuenience,
that the gates of hell, I meane the craft and power of Sa-
tan, should hunt after the godlie here on earth, and seeke to
entrap, euen Christ himselfe; but the true paines of hell, the
wicked and desperate do not suffer in this life, much lesse the
elect, least of all Christ. It is a iudgement following death,
and maie no more be defended to bee here on earth, then the
toies of heauen may be possessed in this life.

The causes
why Christ
must suffer the
paines of hel.

In the causes, why Christ should suffer the paines of hell,
we may do well not to be too farwarde with the rules of rea-
son: as well for that there is no proportion betwixt the per-
son of Christ and vs, as also for that wee may not sit iudges
with God, and prescribe when or howe his iustice should bee
satisfied. It is requisite in our selues to confesse that as both
parts of man sinned in Adam, so the wages of sinne, which
is enerlasting death, is due to both: and as the soule should
haue principallie enioyed God, which is her life, if shee
had perished in obedience; so in falling from God, her
losse, and smart, must of the twaine bee farre the greater;
though the bodie shall not want both grenaunce and
vengeance intolerable: but if wee stretch these rules to
Christ, and subiect his person, as our suretie, to the verie
SAME WAGES of sinne, which we should haue suffered, I
knowe not howe in fewer wordes a man maie couch more
grosse and open impiety. For we should haue bene WHOLLY
SEVERED, IVILLY HATED, and VITTERLY REJECTED
from God, yea ETERNALLY CONDEMNED BO-
DIE AND SOULE to hell fire. May anye of these thinges
be affirmed or imagined of Christ without heinous and hor-
rible blasphemie? This was the wages of our sinne; must
be

by the death and bloud of Christ. 15

he endure THE SAME, before we can bee redeemed; or Gods iustice be satisfied: I hope no sound diuine will so conclude.

They will release eternall death to the dignitie of Christs person, but he was (as they saie) for the time to taste the terrible same death both in soule and bodie which wee should haue done; and which in vs should haue bene euerslasing. First by their leaues, hell in the scriptures is an euerslasing torment, and therefore if the excellencie of Christs person exempt him from euerslasing miserie, that claerlie quiteth him in bodie and soule from suffering hell. Againe, as sinne is the voluntarie defection of the soule from God, so hell is the TOTAL, if not FINAL EXCLVSION of the soule from all fellowship with God; lesse then the death of soule it cannot be: It is the wages of sinne, and therefore it must bee the death as well of the soule, as of the bodie; and chiefele of the soule, because the soule of man is the principall agent in sinne. S. Iohn calleth hell the second death. If then the soule of Christ suffered either hell, or the wages of our sinne; of necessitie for the time it must be dead. The wages of sinne is death. If for the time Christs soule were dead, it had no communion with God, nor God with it, no more then death hath with life, or darkenes with light: It los for that time all faith and loue of God. For by faith the iust doe live: and he that abideth in loue abideth in God. And since God is the life of the soule, Christ could not suffer the death of the soule, which is the wages of our sinne, no not for a day, or an houre, but he must be seuered from God, & forsaken of God. *Mors anima fit cum eam deserit deus*; the death of the soule is when God forsakeeth it. *Mors est spiritus a deo deseri*; it is the death of the spirit to bee forsaken of God. *Mors anima deus amissus*: the losse of God is the death of the soule. To losse God, or to be forsaken of God, is to haue no contunacion, nor fellowship with God; the soule then that is dead, is excluded from the fauour, and grace, truth, and spirit of God; and if a nite bee so preligious or impious, as once to affirme the se

Christ could not suffer the death of the soule, which was the chiefe wages of our sinne.

¹ Apocal. 2.

¹ Rom. 6.

¹ Galat. 3

^m 1. Iohn. 4.

^a August. de ciuitate dei lib. 13. cap. 2.

^o Idem de Trinitate lib. 4. c. 14

^p Idem de verbis domini super Mattheum. serm. 6.

things

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things of Christ, he may avouch, that Christ's soule suffered the true wages of our sin; but if we abhorre these things as sacrilegious and monstrous absurdities, as I doubt not but we do; then certaintlie the soule of Christ could not bee dead, no not for an instant, and consequentlie the true wages of our sinne the soule of Christ could not receave, nor suffer on the crosse, or in the garden: but wee must rather giue eare to Peter, which saith, ¹ Christ bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree; where he was quickened in spirite; though mortified in flesh, and strengthened in the inward man by the joy proposed, for which hee sustained the crosse, and despised the shame thereof. Christ then tooke the burden of our sinnes from vs, and laded it on his owne shoulders, yea the **Lord** ¹ Laid ypon him the iniquity of vs all; but when it came to light vpon him, the verie iustice of God found great difference betwixt his person and ours; and so great, that what should haue condemned vs bodie and soule for ever, that could take no hold on him; but so far forth, as he did voluntarilie yeld himselfe to bee obedient vnto the death of the crosse, and in our flesh to quench the curse of the law pronounced against our sinnes; insomuch that neither sinne nor death were able to sease on his bodie, till he did of his owne accord resigne it into thei handes. If we thinke it strange to see so much difference betwixt him and vs, we must remember, wee were sinnefull, he was innocent; we were defiled, hee was holie; we were hatefull, he was beloued; we were the seruants of sinne, and enemies vnto God, he was the **Lord** of life and of glorie; we were seuered and estranged from God both in bodie and soule, his verie flesh was personallie united and inseparablie ioined vnto God; besides that himselfe was the true and euertlasting sonne of God. What maruell then if sinne, which should haue wrought in vs an eternall destruction both of body and soule, could not farther preuaile in him, but to the wounding of his flesh, and shedding of his blood for the full and full satisfaction of all our sinnes, even in the righteous and sincere iudgement of God? Though therefore

THE

by the death and blood of Christ. 17

THE SAME PART might, and did suffer in Christ; which
 cannot be denied; I mean the soules yet by his means onely it
 decrease **THE SAME WAEGES** which we should have recei-
 ued: And since hell is the greatest vengeance; that God in-
 dicted for mine, if Christes soules were free from this, to what
 purpose be cleared and acquitted from that; which is greatest;
 and most repugnant to the fulnesse of grace, truth and spirit;
 that dwell in the burning soules of Christ: but hereof I shall
 haue occasion to speake afterwarde againe.

THE SIGNES that Christ suffered the paines of hell are left:
 and more at his house in the garden; and his complaint on
 the crosse, that he was taken: Of Christes agonie, since the
 scriptures haue not revealed the right cause; it is not possible
 to examine, presumption to determine; impossibility to con-
 curre certaintie what was the true cause thereof: I protest
 if we will not consider accurates; wee must take heed,
 that with our obiects and private guesses, we do not contra-
 dict the plain and euident places; as testifie the persecution
 and condemnation of Christes humane nature with his nature;
 and his being the person of our Saviours: This will determine
 howe though I bee not willing to restrain the searching of
 that, which is concealed from us; yet since they in the same
 most advantage of the cause, that there cannot be any other
 reason assigned of Christes sorrow; besides his suffering the
 paines of hell: I would not put under stand your minds there
 might be besides that which they bring; and that theirs of all
 others is least probable, if not altogether intolerable. I will
 offer you two causes; that might be, of Christes agonie; eue-
 rie one of them more likely; and more godlie then the de-
 line of hell paines; others at these times make much
 more; which I will be content to heare. Those are these:
 Christes SUFFERING to the maiestie of God sitting in iudge-
 ment; The REJECTION of the Iewes; The DISPERSION of
 his Church; The DRAINING of his minde; The DE-
 PRECATION of Gods wrath; The VOLUNTARY DE-
 PARTING of his blood to be shed for the sinnes of the world;

The signes y
 Christ did suf-
 fer the paines
 of hell, are his
 agonie in the
 garden, and his
 complaint on
 the crosse, &c.

The reason why
 I saye y to be
 the cause is

as I haue
 shewed

Six causes
 that might be
 of Christes ago-
 ny in y garden,

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and sanctification of his person to offer his true & eternal sacrifice.
 So great is the Majesty of God, & so great is the power of his love,
 at all times, but specially sitting in judgement, and so farre
 exceeding the capacitie of all his creatures, that no flesh be-
 coming is able to appeare before him without feare and trem-
 bling. The day of the Lord (when hee shall see flesh to judge) is
 great and fearefull, and who shall indure it? When God gave
 his lawe, which was but the rule of his judgement, so terri-
 ble was the sight, that *Moses* said, I feare and tremble. My
 flesh (saith *David* to God) trembleth for feare of thee, and I am
 afraid of thy judgement. Since then it is a point not onely
 confessed but urged, by the defenders of this new devile, that
 Christ appeared here before the tribunall of God, to submit
 himselfe to his fathers pleasure, and the wordes of Christ in
 the mouth of *John* tend to that effect, there he saith, Nowe
 (even at hand) is the judgement of the world. Nowe (even at
 hand) shall the prince of this world be cast out, and if I were lift up
 from the earth, I will draw all unto me: this might not the hu-
 mane nature of Christ tremble before the majesty of that
 Judge, whose glorie the Seraphims in heauen doe not beholde
 without veiling their faces? Wherby Christ teacheth he not
 to persew into Gods presence, wher we are laden with sin,
 but in much feare and trembling, since he would not appeare
 before God to take our sinnes on him, but in this agonie.
 The cause of his agonie. He wept over them, when he
 beheld it, and remembered the subversion of it; what would
 be then he uttered when he foresaw the final reprobation of
 whole nation? and his blood to be laid on them, and their chil-
 dren forever: for their sakes *Moses* desired. To be wiped
 out of Gods booke, and *Paul* could have wished himselfe to
 be separated from Christ for his brethren the Iewes. If the
 servants of Christ have so great heavinesse and sorrow in their
 hearts for their kindred according to the flesh, what agonie
 must it needs be in their King, and Medias, in whom
 were the bowels of mercie and pittie, to see the wicked rage

Isa. 2

Hebre. 12

Psalm. 119

John. 12

Esay. 6

The reprobati-
on of Iewes,

Luke. 19

Exod. 32

Rom. 9

by the death and blood of Christ. 19

of the people kindling Gods fearful vengeance against themselves, and their offspring by putting him to a most cruel and shameful death, that came to redeeme them from sin and death. This cause is observed by Ambrose, Hierom, Augustine and Bede. *Nec illud distat à vero, si tristis erat pro persecutoribus*: neither is that dissonant from truth (saith Ambrose) if he were heavy (in soule) for his persecutors, whom hee knewe should dearely pay for their sacrilegious putting him to death. Hee was not then afraid to die, but hee was loath to have them though they were cuill, to perish; least his passion should bee their destruction, which hee meant for the saluation of all. Christs soule was not heauie (saith Ierom and Bede) for any feare of his passio, but for that most unhappy Iudas; for the scandall of all his Apostles, for the reiectiō of the Jewes, and subuersion of wretched Ierusalem. And Austen, if wee saie the Eorde was sorrowfull (for the Jewes) when his passion drew neere, where they would commit so many a sinne; *non in congruens dicere tristitia*, I think we speake not without reason. If respect of his persecutors could thus agonize him, what could the regard of his own followers doe? how did the weakness of his owne disciples afflicke him; when the wilfulness of his enemies did so preuaile with him? Hee warned his disciples of the danger, and they boasted of their strength; hee willed them to praie, and they slept; and when he was apprehended they did euertie ois to save him; yea the stoutest of them did plainelie forswear him. Hee might therefore iustly be grieved with their infirmitie, and earnestly praie for their securitie. His tender care of them, and earnest praier for them appeareth in the 17. of Iohn; when as hee entered into the garden; hee called vpon them to watch and praie, that they entred not into temptation. *Dormiunt* (saith Ambrose) *& nesciunt dolere pro quibus Christus dolebat*: the Disciples slept, and canot tell how to sorrow, for whom Christ sorrowed. *Tristis erat non pro sua passione, sed pro nostra dispersione*. Tristis erat, quia nos parauit et reliquit. Hee was sorrowfull

^a Ambros. in Lucam. lib. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.

^d Hieron. in Matth. cap. 26.
^d Beda in math. cap. 26.

^a August. in Psal. 137.

The disperſion of his church.

^f Luke. 22.

^g Ibidem.
^h Ambros. in 1^a can. lib. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.

29 The full redemption of mankind,

not for his owne suffering, but for our dispeising: He so
grieved because hee left us hanging and broke: a Hilarie in
his tenth booke de Trinitate largely pursueth this occasion of
Christis agonie, & concludeth: *Non ergo sibi tristis erat neq; sibi*
erat sed illis quos mouet orare paucigulis: Christ is not sorrowfull
for himself, nor praieith for himself, but for those who he warrmeth
to watch and pray. And for the sake he saith: the Angell
was sent to comfort Christ; that hee should take no longer
griefe and feare for his Disciples. The Angell bringeth seche to
protect the Apostles, and the Lord receiuing comfort thereby.
Ne pro his tristis esset; iam sine tristitia metuit; dormit & re-
quiescit: That he should no longer grieve for them; he beginneth
nowe to be without griefe and feare, and saith to them; sleepe
now, and take your rest. *Namque in his tristis esset, id est propter*
nos tristis esset, ne cessaret ut propter nos se d. comfortaretur; *Et uoluit*
for he that was sorrowfull for our faults; add in our behalfe; trust
of force be comforted for our sake. *quod in eo est, quod*
The desire and care Christ had to see his kept safe from
the rage of Satan, leade him to the fourth cause of Christis
agonie: for if Christ were so sad for our infirmities, howe soe
repenteth there as he in our iniquities; where by that time
one lieth in our sinne open to danger, but euen more to him
when some other doeth sinne. *Ubi dicitur Ambrosio de his*
matter. *Mihi compatiuntur, ubi tristis est, ubi uidetur. Ely apud*
more in maiestate, qui pro se uidetur habuit quod diceret. *De la*
ignem domine Iesu; non tuus sed mea uulnera, non tuum mortem;
sed meam infernam; Christ is affected for mee; full of sor-
row, and grieved for me. Here sorroweth for mee, and iu-
stice: who had nothing in himselfe to bee sorrowed for. Thou
griuest Lord Iesu not at mine owne wounds, but at mine
for thy death but for my weaknesse. Inward sorrow for sin-
is perfectie requisite in all remission of sinnes. To sinne
and not to be sorry for it, is first to displease; and then to de-
spise God. Wherefore it is not possible to appease Gods
wrath once provoked, but with earnest and heartie sorrowe
that euer we offended. Then as corruption is the mother, and
plea-

¹ Hilarius de
trinitate lib 10

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem.

His sorrow for
our sinne.

⁴ Ambrose de fide
lib. 2. cap. 3.

by the death and blood of Christ. 23

pleasure in the life of sinners: for the inward affliction and contrition of the soules in all the godlie as the death of Christ. Since we are neither willing, nor able to forsake such a death for our sinnes, why might not the son of God, when he took upon him the punishment of our sinnes in his own person, take likewise unto him that inward earnest sorrow for our sinne, which neuer created before him, as he does him self, or could express? Soody sorrow such as his repentance which saluati-
 on is a troubled spirit is a sacrifice unto God: Of this kind of sorrow to supplie the weakness and want of true repen-
 tance in be all, and to teach us how to lament our sinne, the more true attribute of the soules of our Saviour, the more sufficient euery way to make his satisfaction for sin, that he not onely tender recompence by his life, and suffer vengeance by his death for our sinne, but to expelle sorrow for them that in his agonie, about nature, he sawe bloud after a strange and marvellous manner.

of him himself
 sinners vary
 lamented
 2 Cor. 7. 10
 Plal. 51. 17

The first cause of Christ's agonie, might be the cup of gods wrath, tempered and made ready for the sinnes of men. In the hand of the Lord is the cuppe (saith Dauid) it is mixed full, the wicked thereof shall be drunke, and they shall as the drunkard. In this cuppe are all manner of plagues, and punishments for sinners, as death, spiritual, and corporal, eternal, as temporal. The mixture of which cuppe Christ perfectly knowing, and enter-
 fallie knowing the drugges thereof, earnestly prayed this cuppe might passe from him: And the diuers an-
 swers: expounded these words of Christ: Some there by collecting it to his sinnes, as he was to be crucified: Some by humanie, as he submitted himself to the other: Some by finding a difference between the unwillingness of our flesh, and readiness of the spirit, as in the manhood of Christ: Some also thinking that Christ corrected and re-
 hearsed his passion, suddenly slipped from him, by the vehemencie of griefe, which took from him the present remembrance of gods heavenly decrees. In this hardie and judgement, to refuse

The depreca-
 tion of Gods
 wrath.
 Plal. 75

22 The full redemption of man kind,

none that agreeth any way with the rules of truth, That might behold these things in the cuppe of Gods wrath, and by his prayer according to the decline them, to wit, eternal malediction, corporall castigation about his strength, and the separation of his bodie by death from the fruition of Gods mercy.

Christ might
pray against
the eternal
malediction
of our finnes.

Heb. 5.

Theodore in
2. 5. epist. ad Heb.

What was due to our finnes Christ could not be ignorant; and as he became man to quicken our souls that were dead, not to kill his owne; and to bring vs to God, not to sever himselfe from God: So knowing that our finnes deserved, he might intentuallie pray to haue That cup passe from him, which was prepared for vs; & was heard in that he declined or feared. Christ (saith Paule) in the dayes of his flesh did offer vp prayers and supplications to him, that was able to saue him from death, and was heard *καὶ ἡκούσθη*; for the reverence had of him; for so Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius and others not vnlearned (as I thinke) in the Greeke tongue doe interprete the word; or as others delight rather to say: He was heard in that he feared; *καὶ ἡκούσθη* signifying feare and care, as well as reuerence: Paule meant that prayer (saith Theodoret) which CHRIST made before his passion, when he said, Father if it be possible let this cup passe from me. And indeed but in the garden, Christ neuer prayed with strong cries and teares to be saued from death, that was in the scriptures: and He was heard (saith the Apostle) in that he feared or shunned. From the death of that cruell hee was not saued; that therefore was not the effect of his prayer; for he was heard in that hee asked. He desired therefore to be saued from ETERNAL death, and that the cup of Gods euermourning malediction might passe from him, and in that he was heard. [At least then (will they say) Christ feared euermourning death, against which he instantlie prayed with strong cries & teares.] The number of our finnes, and power of Gods wrath hee could not choose but see, being obtained the fauour of the world, to heare the one, and appease the other; and therefore if we grant that the sight of both, did for the time to me what astonish the humane nature of Christ, doubtlesly considering the

the

the weight of both; I see no great inconvenience therein, so long as they expressed nothing in the soul of Christ; but a religious fear to some, (to the one,) and to pray against the other. That distrust of his own salvation, or doubt of Gods displeasure against himselfe, we cannot so much as imagine in Christ, without evident tokens of grace, and loss of grace; which we may not attribute to Christ's person; no not for an instant. It is weakness of faith to be so frail, or to get the promise of God, without the conscience of sinne accusing us. What then will it be for the soul of Christ; after so many promises and oaths made by God, to almighty and faithful Saviour of the world; after so many cleare and full assurances of Gods love and favour towards his person; to stagger at the certainty of Gods promise, at the light of his almightie knowledge, and at the truth of his fathers a voice so often pronounced. I am comforted with this burden from heaven: I refrain to speake what is wrong in this; to put either doubtfulness, or forgetfulness of those things in any part of Christes human nature. (I am comforted with this burden from heaven: I refrain to speake what is wrong in this; to put either doubtfulness, or forgetfulness of those things in any part of Christes human nature.)

Why then did he praye that the cup might passe from him? he had no need to pray for himselfe, but only for us; who then suffered with him, and in him. On his thought, his state being severed from him, as the influence of our sin against him it could not prevaile; because nothing could befall him either against his will, or to the glory of God. Wherefore the force and effect of his prayer chiefly concerned us. Being then compassed in his body, in which we were crucified, buried, and raised, together with him. And touching himselfe, albeit the innocencie of his cause, the holynesse of his life, the meeknes of his obedience, the abunundance of his spirit, the love of his father, and unitie of his person, did most sufficientlie guard him from all danger, and doubt of eternal death; yet to shew the perfection of his humilitie, he would not suffer his humane nature to require it of right; but prostrated on the earth besought his father; That cuppe might passe.

Christe praised
as the head of
his bodie, and
so one person
with his mem-
bers.

Galath. 2.
Rom. 6.
Colos. 3.

Christe praised
as the head of
his bodie, and
so one person
with his mem-
bers.

By the death and bloud of Christ. 25

presence of God in soule or in bodie; the greater grieve it will be, and must be to lacke the sence herof, euen for a short time. The flesh of Christ then, which had not onelie a personall coniunction, but also a wonderfull fruition of God above all men liuing, might well be loath to leaue the same, and yeld to death, not as timorous through infirmity, but as desirous in pietie to keepe that sence and feeling of Gods presence, which not onlie the soules, but also the bodies of his Saintes shall hereafter enioie; and which Christ had here on earth in greater measure, then we can expresse, as being personallie vnited to the diuine nature, though as yet not glorified with immortalitie.

And there some auouch, it had bene in Christ a shamefull nicenesse to be so afflicted with the feare of his passion; albeit S. Augustine saie well: *Non est vlllo modo dubitandum, non sum animi infirmitate, sed potestate turbatum*; We may by no meanes doubt that Christ was troubled not for any weakenesse of hart, but through (his owne) power: yet Cyril granteth that Christ as a man abhorred and feared death, and addeth that except he had voluntarily shewed our feare in himselfe, and quenched it, we had neuer bene freed from it. *Omnia Christus perpeffus est, vt nos ab omnibus liberaret. Sicut igitur nisi mortuus esset, mors non exstingueretur sic nisi tenuisset, non esset nos à metu liberati: nisi doluisset non cessassent dolores nostri.* Christ suffered all, that he might free vs from al. As therefore except he had died, death had not bene conquered; so vnlesse he had feared, we had not bene deliuered from feare; and if he had not sorrowed, our sorrowes could not haue ceased. And in like manner shalt thou finde all the passions of (our) flesh, to haue bene stirred in Christ, but without sinne, that beeing stirred they might be repressed, by the power of the godheade dwelling in him, and our nature by that meanes reduced to a better temper.

Ambrose in other wordes saith as much. *Sequestrata de lætatione diuinitatis æterna, radio mea infirmitatis afficitur. Suscepit enim tristitiam meam, vt mihi suam lætitiā largiretur.* Ambrosius in Lucam lib. 10. de tristitia dolore & radio

August. tra. 2. 60. in Iohannem.
Christ cured
our infirmities
in his owne
person.

Cyrl. thesaur. lib. 10. cap. 3.

*vestigis nostris descendit usque ad mortis arumnam; ut nos suis
vestigis reuocaret ad vitam. Debit ergo & dolorem suscipere;
ut vinceret tristitiam, non excluderet; & nos disceremus in Chri-
sto, quemadmodum futurae mortis maestitiam vinceremus. And
so he concludeth. Hic alto operatur effectus, ut quia in carne
sua peccata nostra perimebat, marorem quoque anima nostra, sua
anima marore aboleret. Laying aside the delight of his eternall
deitie, (Christ) is affected with the tediousnesse of my infirmity;
and dejected himselfe to feele the griefe of death as we doe; that
by following his steps he might reduce vs to life: hee was there-
fore to admit sorrowe that he might conquer sorrowe, and not
keepe it off; and wee to learne in Christ howe we should ouer-
come the feare of death approaching. (In his agonie) hee
wrought with a deepe effect; that because in his flesh hee killed
our sinnes, he might also with the sorrow of his soule extinguisht
the sorrowe of our soules. So the sorrowe and feare of death,
which it pleased our saviour to feele in our nature came not
for want of strength: but of purpose to quench and abolish
those affections and passions in vs, that the faithfull for ever
might bee freed from them, through his grace working in
their hearts. And therefore we haue no cause to excuse, much
lesse to reproch Christs weakenesse, but rather to admire his
power, and praise his mercie, that woulde submit himselfe to
these infirmities of our nature; thereby to cure them in vs,
and to strengthen vs against them; and to make vs parta-
kers of his wonderfull courage, and patience, the steps wher-
of we may daile find, not in martyrs onelie, but in all his
members, when they are tried with any kinde of outwarde
or inward affliction.*

We must pre-
fer Christs suf-
fering before
all martyrs, not
for his paines,
but for his pa-
tience.

Howbeit, I may not omit, how great an oversight it is to
conclude, that Christ, if he feared death in his agony, was far
feebler then martyrs which to fullie die; yea, then malefactors
which oftentimes go to their death verie resolutely. The des-
peratenesse of the wicked which haue neither feare nor care of
God, till they feele the force of his wrath in hell fire, is no fit
comparison

by the death and blood of Christ. 86

comparison for the sonne of God, no more then the sinke of sinne is to sweeten the fountaine of grace; I will therefore skippe that ouer with silence. But if death bee not fearefull to the seruants of Christ, as indeede it is not, they are the more bound to their Lord and master, who in his owne person to make the waie easie for them, with the losse of his life disarmed death for euer, and brake the chaines in sunder wherewith death and hell were coupled together. For Christ was the first that by senering death from the terroz and power of hell, made the stroke of death contemptible to all the godlie; which othertwise was and would haue bene the harbinge of hell. So that when death presented it selfe to the sight of our sauour putposiug to redeeme the world, it came so fast clasped with hell; that none but the sonne of God could dissolue the band, wherewith they were linked. And therefore Christ had far greater cause then anye of his members, to feare; and with earnest prayer to decline the taile of death, which did wound both bodie and soule with euermoring destruction, if he did not take a waie the King thereof; and by his sundring the one from the other, (which was the hope of all his saints, before he died, and faith of al the godlie since) death was and is to all beleeuers no cause of feare, but rest from their labors, and passage to a better life. The feare then which Christ had and shewed of death, was either the curing of our infirmities in his flesh; or the breaking the knot betwixt death and hell, which none but he was able to doe; or the mitigating of Gods anger, which might be executed on his bodie; or lastlie the desire hee had to continue the feeling and enioying of Gods presence, and coherence with bodie and soule in the unitie of his person: and if in anye of these was charge Christ with nicenesse, wee knowe not what we saie, except we will bee guiltie in a worse issue, which I perswade my selfe was no part of their meaning, that first broched this matter.

The last cause of Christs agony might be the sanctifying of himselfe to praye for transgressors, and the voluntarie dedi-

Christ might
by his agony
voluntarie
dedicate his

28 The full redemption of mankind,

bloud to mans
redemption.

¹ Hil. lib. 10
de trinitate.

² Aug. in
Psalm. 93.

³ Prosper sen-
tent. ex Aug. 8.
sent. 68.

⁴ Bede in Luc.
cap. 22.

cating of his bloud to bee shed for the redemption of man-
kind: for where some coniecture Christ did sweate bloud
for feare, Hilarie plainelie denieth it, and saith, *Sudo-
rem nemo audebit infirmitati deputare; quia & contra naturam
est sudare sanguinem, nec infirmitas est, quod potestas, non secun-
dum naturam consuetudinem, gessit.* No man shoulde dare attri-
bute (Christ's bloudy) sweate to infirmitie, because it is against
nature to sweate bloud, and can bee no weakenes, which power
did aboute the course of nature. Austen maketh it a significati-
on of the martyrs bloud, that should willinglie bee shedde
throughout the church for the testimonte of the trueth. *Idem
toto corpore sanguine sudauit, quia in corpore suo, id est Ecclesia,
Martyrum sanguinem ostendit.* Christ sweat bloud along all his
bodie, to this ende, that he might shew the bloud of martyrs in
his bodie, which is the church. Prosper agreeth with S. Augu-
stine in iudgement and saith. *Oran cum sudore sanguine odo-
minus Iesus, significabat de toto corpore, quod est Ecclesia, ema-
naturas martyrum passiones.* The Lorde Iesus praying with a
bloudy sweat, signified the sufferings of the martyrs that should
be in his whole body which is the church. Bede thereby noteth
that Christes praier made for his Apostles was hearde; and
that by his bloud he should not onelie redresse the frailtie of
his disciples, but quicken the whole earth being dead in their
sins. *Nemo sudorem hunc infirmitati deputet, sed intelligat
per irrigatam sucratamque eius sanguine terram, non sibi, qui no-
nerat, sed nobis aperte declaratum, quod effectum sue precis iam
obtineret, ut fidem discipulorum, quam terrena adhuc fragilitas
arguebat, suo sanguine purgaret, & quicquid illa scandali de eius
morte pertulisset, hoc totum ipse moriendo deleteret, immo uniuersam
terram terrarum orbem peccatis mortuum suam innoxiam morte calo-
stem resuscitaret ad vitam.* Let no man attribute Christ's bloudie
sweate to infirmitie, but rather learne that by sprinkling and hal-
lowing the earth with his bloud, it was declared, not to him who
knewe it, but vnto vs, that he had obtained the effect of his prai-
er, with his bloud to purge the faith of his Disciples, which earth
lie

by the death and blood of Christ. 29

lie frailtie did weaken, and whatsoever offence (the earth) had taken at his death, al that he dying should abolish, yea with his innocent death he should raise vnto an heauenlie life the whole world then dead in their finnes. Bernard taketh hold on S. Pauls wordes, where hee calleth Chrisses sweate by the name of teares: and saith, *Ventum est adorationem; & usque tertio factus in Agonia orabat; ubi quidem non solum oculis, sed quasi omnibus membris fletisse videtur, ut totum corpus eius, quod est ecclesia, totius corporis lachrymis purgaretur.* Christ came to praier, and being in an agony he praied thise: where he seemed to weepe, not onelie with his cies, but with all the parts of his body; that the whole body of his Church might bee purged with the teares of his whole body.

Bernard in ramis
palmarum serm.
mon. 3.

S. Paul allegeth the cries and teares of Christ in the garden as a p[ro]ofe of his p[re]sthood, & saith, that not onlie ^b He offered praier & supplications, which was one part of hys p[re]stis office, wherein hee was heard for the reuerence had of him: But also *τελειωθεis*, being sanctified, to offer sacrifice, (for so the word doth often signifie,) or else consummated by the offering of himselfe on the crosse, (which was the other part of his p[re]sthood & function) was made authour of eternall saluation to all that obey him, being thus called and allowed of God to bee an high priest after the order of Melchizedec. Christ readie to enter the garden saith, *Pro eis sanctificameipsum*; for their sakes I sanctifie my selfe: and sanctification properly belonged to the p[re]stis person, before hee might appeare in Gods p[re]sence to offer for the finnes of the people; and by the rite of Moses lawe, the p[re]stis, when they were sanctified vnto God, had their bodies sprinkled with the blood of their sacrifice from top to toe. Christ then being the truth of all their figures as well in the sanctification, as oblation of himselfe; might miraculouly sprinkle his whole booke with his own blood; (for it was above nature as Hilarie noteth) and so consecrate his person, as approued of God, to be the true p[re]st after the order of Melchizedec, and voluntarilie dedicate his blood to be

^b Hebe. 5.

Or sanctifie his person to offer the true sacrifice for sinne.

gaudeat illi
sanctificatio
to alius & non
voluntarie
Joim. 17

^c Exod. 29

29 The full redemption of mankind,

be shed for the remission of our sinnes, which hee did of his owne accord yeeld, to be disposed of at his fathers pleasure, before the Jewes or Gentiles wounded his bodie, that his whole passion which followed, might bee a willing sacrifice, and no forced violence by the handes or weapons of the wicked. Christes agonie then being alleaged by the Apostle to demonstrate Christs priestshood, must not rise from the terror of his own death, but rather from the vehemencie of his prayer for vs, that it might bee aswell an intercession for sinners, as a sanctification of himselfe, to offer the sacrifice available for the sinnes of the world. To which if anie will adde the signification of the martyrs blood, which Austen speaketh of, as if Christ in the garden did not onelie present his owne blood to be the true propitiation of our sinnes, but also the blood of his martyrs, to make their death acceptable to God, that willinglie laide downe their liues for the witnes of his truth; I can be well content to admit that exposition, considering Christ must offer both the liues and deathes of all his saintes to God his father, before they can be holie or precious in his sight.

The suffering
of hell paines
not y cause of
Christs agony.

^eHebre. 10

^uJoh. 11.

But since Christes feare (as they expound the Apostles words Hebre. 5.) is made the groundworke of this conceipt, let vs see whether their owne foundation wil not overthrow their owne building. The paines of hell, did Christ when hee prayed in the garden, feare them or no? If hee did not feare them, hee did not feele them; for they are fearefull: yea the verie^e expectation of them is verie dreadful, as the Apostle saith Hebre. 10; and if he feared them not, howe could they bee the cause of his agonie, which these men so stiffe maintaine? If he feared them, he was freed from them, as they themselves interpret the worde *εὐλαβία*, for hee was heard in that he feared. His prayer was to haue that cup passe from him, and God neuer denied whatsoeuer he asked. ^fI know (saith Christ to his father) that thou hearest me alwaies. Whence they conclude, he feared hell paines, thence I infer he

By the death and bloud of Christ. 30

hee suffered them not. for being deliuered from the feare of hell approaching, he could not be left vnder the burden of hell abiding. Againe, if the suffering of hell were the cause of Christs agony, the cause continuing, the effect could not cease. But his agonie ended in the garden; how then could the paines of hell endure on the crosse, and be lengthened almost to the end of his life? Ierome saith vpon these wordes of Christ to his disciples, [Anselm vs go:] & least they finde vs, as though we were fearefull, and drawing backe, let vs of our owne accord goe towardes them; *ut confidentiam, & gaudium passuri videant*; that they may see the confidence and gladnesse (of Christ) going to his passion.

The continuance of Christs agonie they proue by his complaint on the crosse, where not long before he yelded vp his spirit, he cried; ^hMy God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? and these words, my saie, do plainelie conuince, that Christ felt himselfe forsaken of God, and that this was the true cause of his agonie, what soeuer pretences are inuented by others to excuse, or colour his feare. Indeepe this place must beare the burden of the whole frame; for the rest are onely signes of sorow and zeale, the scriptures not expressing the cause; but here are manifest wordes if wee mistake not their reference. My father is greater then I am, were wordes as cleare as daie light: but the referring that to the diuine which hee spake of his humane nature, byed the Arrian heresie. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken mee; are not so plaine. for the saints of God haue often complained vnto God that they were forsaken of him; when he withheld neether his fauour, grace, nor spirit from them; but onely withheld his helpe or comfort for the time; to make them more earnest to seeke and stie to him. But were they neuer so pregnant, if we applie them to the wrong part, which God neuer forsake, we may incurre as grosse an error as euer did Arius. And yet if we straine them to the bittermost, they will neuer proue that Christ on the crosse suffered the paines of hell.

^h Hieron. in
Math. ca. 26

^h Math. 27

What is meant
by Christs complaint
on the crosse that he
was forsaken.

^h 1 John. 14

^h 1 Cor. 13

32 The full redemption of mankind,

hell. For if we should grant, which were diuinely impietie to thinke, that God forsooke Chyristes soule as verelie, as ever hee did anie of the wicked heere on earth, Cain, Saul, Iudas not excepted; yet that doth not conclude he suffered the true paines of hell. For those in this life did not suffer as much, as their soules doe now in hell, make their case neuer so desperate. And therefore I maruaile how wise men were bewitched with the sound of these wordes, which hence resolued that out of all question, Chyrist suffered the paines of the damned in hell, where as the wordes inferre no such thing, though we stretch them neuer so farre. For in spite of our hearts, before we can bring that conclusion to follow, this must be the tainture of our reason. All men any way forsaken of God in this life are in the true paines of hell: Chyrist was forsaken of God, ergo he was in the true paines of hell. Now how fond, false, and absurd the generall assertion is, that all anie way forsaken of God, are in the true paines of hell, to men of learning and religion needeth no long discourse. Cain was a^k runnagate and accursed by Gods mouth; Esau was a^l prophane person, and^m hated of God; Saul was verie desperate when he sought to the witch, for God wasⁿ departed from him, and become his enemy; Iudas was the^o sonne of perdition, and a^p diuell: yea many were Marke mad; and possessed with diuels; and yet none of them in those verie tormentes, which are reserved for the damned in hell. Theⁱ Gentiles as Paul saith, were strangers from the life of God, and hadⁿ no hope, and were without God in the world, yet were they not in the paines of hell, here on earth. But I hope we be not so far drowned in the depth of hell, that wee will for our fantasie range the sonne of God, and saviour of the world, in this rable of wicked and desperate castaways; and yet though men could be so dangerously deuoted to their dreames, this proueth not their purpose. Desperation they may stumble at, if they will presse the words without anie difference between the dereliction of Gods saines and his enemies; but toleration

The wicked
are here forsaken,
and yet
not in hell.

^k Genes. 4
^l Hebre. 12
^m Rom. 9.
ⁿ 1 Samuel 28
^o Iohn. 17
^p Iohn. 6
ⁱ Ephes. 4. 18
^j Ephes. 2. 12.

tion of hell paines these words will neuer conclude, vnlesse we make hell to be no iudgement, no: punishment after this life, but onely a terroꝝ and horroꝝ of conscience, such as presently the wicked here in reuenge of their sinnes.

When the godlie complaine, as often they do in the scriptures, that they were forsaken of God, it is not onely a plaine absurditie, but a grosse impietie to conclude of their words, that they then suffered the verie paines of the damned in hell. For example, Sion, which is the whole church of God, saith in the prophet Esay, ¹ the Lorde hath forsaken me: and God himselfe assureth her words to bee true, ² For a while I forsooke thee, for a moment in mine anger, I hid my face from thee: Was the whole church for that time in the true paines of hell? Dauid saith of himselfe, ³ Thou hast reiected and abhorred, thou hast beene angrie with thine anointed. Was Dauid then in the verie paines of the damned? of his whole realme he saith; ⁴ O God thou hast cast vs off, and beene angrie with vs. Did all the people then suffer the torments of helle reiecting and abhorring are wordes of greater dislike, and moze detestation, then forsaking; and yet they infer not the paines of hell. While then doe wee so fondly misconser the one, when we well inough vnderstande the other? Why stumble we at a strawe, when we canne step ouer a blocke? To be forsaken of God as the wicked are, is to bee depriued of his fauour, grace, and spirit: and yet they are not forthwith in hell. To be forsaken, as the godlie complaine they are, is to be boide of comfort, or destitute of helpe, when their enemies assault or afflict them, which is nothing neere the state of the damned. For as God is said to be present by his gifts and graces: so he hideth his face, or forsaketh vs, when he refraineth his eye from watching, his eare from hearing, or his hand from helping vs in the miseries and aduersities of this life.

If I be thought partiall, let vs heare what the ancient and learned fathers purposely write of our sauiours complaint

How the godly
are forsaken.

¹ Esay 49.

² Esay. 54

³ Psalm. 89

⁴ Psalm. 60

34 The full redemption of mankind,

on the crosse; in whome I finde sundrie, and all godlie expostitions, according with the truth of the scriptures, and no way bending or inclining to this late deuile of hell paines.

I.
Diuers expo-
sitions of the
fathers, how
Christ was for-
saken on the
crosse.

² August. episto-
la. 120.

^a Idem in Psal-
mus. 21.

^b Leo de passio.
serm. 16.

^c Athanasius de
incarnat. Christi.

The first; that as Christ is our heade, and we his mem-
bers in such sort ioyned in one bodie with him, that hee suffe-
reth in vs, and we in him; so were we not onlie crucified and
buried, but also raised, and glorified in him, and with him;
and therefore hee shewed and vttered manie thinges in his
passion, which ought to be referred directlie to vs, and not to
him; but as bearing our person, and speaking in our names.

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken mee? ² *Hanc in se
vocem transfigurauit Iesus, vocem corporis sui, hoc est ecclesia.*
This speech Christ transferred to himselfe, (saith *Austen*) being
the speech of his body, which is the church, The church suffered
then in him, when he suffered for the church, euen as hee suffe-
red in the church, when the church suffered for him. And as we
heard the voice of the church suffering in Christ, when he saide;
my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me: so haue we heard
the voice of Christ suffering in his church, when hee saide; *Saul,*
Saul, why persecutest thou mee? And againe; ^a *quid voluit di-
cere dominus? non enim dereliquerat illū deus, cum ipse esset deus,
atque filius dei. Quare dicitur, nisi quia nos ibi eramus, nisi quia
corpus Christi ecclesia?* Why would the Lord saie, my God, my
God, why hast thou forsaken me? God had not forsaken him, for
so much as he was God, and the son of God. Why then was it
said, but because we were there in him, & the church which was
his bodie? ^b *Sub redemptorum suorum voce clamabat, deus de-
us meus, quare me dereliquisti.* In the name of his redeemed
Christ said, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me: ^c *Ex
nostra persona verba illa proloquitur, non enim ipse à deo desti-
tutus fuit, sed nos.* In our person Christ speaketh these wordes,
for he was not forsaken of God, but we.

The second exposition of these words is, that Christes hu-
mane nature was not protected from the rage of the Iewes,
but left without helpe in the power of his enemies, to be
bled

by the death and bloud of Christ. 35

used at their pleasures, which he calleth a kind of forsaking.
 For God then seemeth to leaue vs, whē he doth not defend vs
 from the furie of our foes, which seeke our ouerthrow. ^d *Erat* ^{Aug. epist.}
aliqua causa, eaque non parua, quare Christum de manibus In- ^{120.}
deorum non liberaret deus, eumque in potestate sententium, us-
que ad mortis exitum dereliqueret. There was a cause, saith
 Augustine, and that no small cause, why God did not deliuer
 Christ out of the handes of the Iewes, but let him alone in the
 power of his pursuers, vntill he died. ^e *Vt homo loquitur meos* ^{Ambros. de fide}
circumferens metus, quod in periculis positi a domino deferri nos ^{lib. 2. cap. 3.}
putamus. Christ speaketh as a man (saith Ambrose) bearing a-
 bout him my feares, for y we, when we are in danger, think our
 selues forsaken of God. ⁱ *Ne mireris querimonias derelicti, cum*
scandalum crucis videas. Maruaile not at Christes complaint ^{Hieron in ca. 27}
 that he was forsaken, when as thou seest how he was used on the ^{Matth.}
 crosse. ^g *Derelictus est Christus pro parte carnis.* Christ was ^{Idē in Psal. 21}
 forsaken in his passion as touching his flesh.

A third is, that Christis godhead together with his humane
 soule were then departing from his bodie, and leauing it vn-
 to death. Tertullian, (*Deus*) *Filium* ^h *dereliquit, cum hominem* ^{Tertul. aduer-}
eius tradidit in mortē. Ita relinqui a patre, fuit mori filio. God ^{sus Praxeam.}
 forsooke his sonne, in that he deliuered his humanity vnto death.
 So for the sonne to die, was to be forsaken of his father. Hilarie,
ⁱ *Habes conquerentem se esse relictum ad mortem, quia homo est:*
vt intelligentia nostra sit, & homo mortuus, & deus regnans. ^{Hilar. lib. 10}
 Thou heardest Christ complaine that hee was left vnto death, ^{de Trinitate.}
 that we should conceiue he died as a man, he reigned as a God.
 And againe; ^k *Clamor ad deum, corporis vox est, recedentis a se* ^{Idem in Matth.}
verbi dei contestata diffidit: relinquitur, quia erat homo etiam ^{Can. 33.}
morte peragendus. Christes complaint vnto God, that hee was
 forsaken, is the voice of his body, testifying the separation of the
 diuine nature from it for a time. He is forsaken, because he was a
 man to be consummated by his death. Epiphanius saith, hee
 spake these words, ^l *When he saw his deitie with his soule readie* ^{Epiph. lib. 2. c.}
 to depart from the person of his humanity & to forsake his body. ^{2. contra Ario-}

36 The full redemption of mankind,

4

** Cyril de ressa
sde ad reginas.*

** Basil in Psal.
22.*

** Athan. contra
Arrianos serm. 4.*

A fourth is, that where God for sin had refused and forsaken man, euen from the fall of Adam, Christ notwithstanding exalted on the tree, reconciled mankind vnto God, and slue hatred, making peace by his prayer betwixt God & man. Cyril: ^m whē Adam transgressed the diuine commaundement, mans nature was after a sort forsaken of God, and thereby subiected to a curse and death. These wordes of Christ therfore, *Erant soluentis manifestē derelictionem qua nobis acciderat, & quasi placantis in hoc patrē, &c.* Were the manifest remouing of that derelictiō, which fel on vs, and as it were an appeasing his father, and procuring his fauor towards vs, as towards himself. Basil: ⁿ *Dicit hac dominus, primitia humana natura pro vniuersa.* The lord speaketh these wordes for all mankind, as being the first fruits of mā's nature. **And** therwise of his own person it is true that Athanasius saith. ^o *Neg, enim a patre derelinqui potuit, quia semper est in patre & ante quam hanc vocem ederet & postquam edidisset. Ecce enim dicente, cur me dereliquisti: ostendit pater se ut semper antea, ita tum quoq, in filio fuisse.* He could not be forsaken of his father, who was alwaies in his father, both before and after he spake these wordes. Behold as hee vttered these wordes (why hast thou forsaken me) the father shewed himselfe to be euen then in his sonne, as he was at all times before. For the earth feeling the weight of her Lord, straight wayes trembled, the vaile rent, the Sunne darkened, the stones claue, the dead rose.

5

** Leo de Pass.
serm. 16.*

The fift, that Christ putteth vs in mind by these wordes to acknowledge the cause, why God doth often not heare our prayers, but in refusing our desires prouideth better for vs, then if we had our wills. *Pro ista, quare me dereliquisti, doctrina est, nō querela. Nam cum in Christo dei & hominis una sit persona, nec ab eo potueris relinqui, a quo non poterat separari, pro nobis trepidis & infirmis interrogat, cur caro pati metuens exaudita non fuerit.* This speech (saith Leo) My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, is an instruction, and no complaint: For where in Christ there is but one person of God and man, and he could not be forsaken of God, from whom he could not bee separated,

by the death and bloud of Christ. 37

pared, he asketh the question for vs that are fearefull & weak, why flesh fearing to suffer is not heard. ^{¶ Ibidem.} *¶ Unde ipsa vox non exaudiri, magni est expositio sacramenti: quod nihil humano generi conferret redemptoris potestas, si quod petebat nostra obimeret infirmitas.* The verie wordes of him, that was not heard, open to vs a great myserie, to witte, that the power of the redeemer coulde doe mankinde no good, if our infirmitie might obtaine what it woulde aske. Origen sayth: ^{¶ Origen in Mat. cap. 27.} In respect of that, in which consisted the inuisible forme of God, Christ was forsaken of his father, where hee tooke the shape of a seruant, and came to the death of the Crosse, which amongst men was most shamefull. So that for Christ to become man, and to suffer on the Crosse, was to bee forsaken of God, in comparison of that glorie, which hee had with his father before all worldes.

The last exposition is, that when the Iewes reproched Christ on the Crosse, as reiected of God, he with a loud voice, that all might hear, sang or cited the beginning of the 21. Psalme, wherein it was by the Prophet David foretold, that the true Messias and saviour of the worlde should suffer all those wronges, and shames, which they had heaped on him: and thereby taught them, that they had gathered themselves together to do whatsoever the hand and counsaile of God had determined before to be done. ^{¶ Aff. 4.} The Lord (saith Ierom) hanging on the Crosse, yseth this verse, My God my God, why hast thou forsaken me; by which wee perceiue, that in the Crosse he sang the whole Psalme, as directly pertaining to his passio. ^{¶ Hieron. in Psal. 22.} Christ spake these words (saith Chrysostom) that the Iewes might know hee honoured his father to the last breath, and that God was not his enemy (as they objected:) for which cause he vsed the Prophet Davids words, to verifie or fulfill the scripture of the old testament. ^{¶ Chrysost. hom. in Mat. 89.}

All these interpretations are sound, and stand well with the rules of christian pietie, without dishonouring the person, or disturbing the faith of Christ; therefore I cannot but marvel

38 The full redemption of mankind,

If Christ's soule
were forsaken,
he had neither
faith, hope, nor
loue.

2^d Psal. 71.

1st Rom. 8.

2^d Ecclesi. 2.

what reason our late writers had to refuse them all, and de-
nise another exposition of their owne which imployeth not
onlie desperation in Christs soule, if we presse the wordes,
and the dissolution of Christs person, but an evident con-
tradiction to all that Christ did, or saide on the crosse, or in
iudgement after the Iewes had once laide handes on him.
For if these wordes be referred to the soule of Christ, and im-
port a generall and true deteliation, which must be supposed,
before the paines of hell can thence be concluded; Christ se-
ling and confessing himselfe to bee forsaken of God, coulde
haue neither faith, nor hope. For he that beleueth, and hopeth
in God, cannot trulie saie, that God hath forsaken his soule;
he may complaine that God doth not deliuer him from dan-
gers and troubles assaulting him; which the weakenesse of
man thinketh a kinde of forsaking. * Mine enemies (saith
David) take counsell, saying, God hath forsaken him, pursue
him, there is none to deliuer him. But this is no forsaking of
the soule, so long as that part of man trusteth in God, which
is created chiefe to enioie God. For we by faith, hope, and
loue, the soule of man enioieth God in this life; and hee that
enioieth God is not forsaken of God. Yea whosoer hopeth
in him, neither is nor euer shall be forsaken. 1st For hope doth
not confound, 2^d was there euer any confounded, that put his
trust in the Lorde? or who hath continued in his feare, and hath
beeene forsaken? or whome did he euer despise that called vpon
him? Then if out of these wordes we will infer, that Christs
soule was truelle forsaken of God, it cannot bee auoided,
but this inwarde perswasion in Christ (that his soule was
forsaken) during from the time of his agonie in the garden,
till his complaint on the crosse (which was about 18. houres)
was manifest desperation: vnlesse wee saie Christ was de-
ceiued in so thinking, which is as great an error on the o-
ther side. For if his faith, hope, and loue were still fixed on
God, and no waie decayed, he coulde with no truth saie, that
his soule was bitterlie forsaken.

Againe

Againe, the soule that is forsaken of God must needs be separated from God. ^a For he that cleaueth vnto the Lorde, is one spirit with him, & so not forsaken of him. If then Christs soule were senered from God, it could haue no mutuall congruence, much lesse naturall coherence with God. There must bee a spirituall communion in grace, or else there can be no personall vnion in nature. As the soule doth communicate her effects to the bodie, with which shee is coupled: so must the deitie make the humane nature of Christ partaker of those graces and giftes, which maie come from the godhead, before we can trulie saie, that the one is personallie ioyned with the other. The participation and fruition of God is not in words or thoughtes, but in deedes and effects. In whom then the spirit of God dwelleth not, with his forces and fruites, let him neuer deceiue his hart, that he hath any fellowship with God. Nowe in Christ was the fulnesse of Gods spirit and grace. God ^b measured not his spirit to him, but of his fulnesse we all haue receaued. So that if the fulnesse of grace failed in the soule of Christ, the vnitie of his person was vtterly dissolved. For without a communion, there can be no coniunctio of two natures in Christ. If there were an effectuall and full communion, there could be no reall nor generall dereliction. Insomuch that the vertie flesh of Christ, though it were left vnto death; yet was it not vtterlie forsaken of the deitie, but preserved euen in the graue from corruption, and raised againe with greater perfection then before; besides the wonderfull conquest it had ouer death. Which plainelie proueth the Godheade was neuer separated from the bodie of Christ, though the soule for a time departed, that death and hell might bee destroyed. If the deitie did neuer forsake the bodie, no not in death; much lesse did it euer forsake the soule, which alwaies had an vnseparable coniunction, and vnseascable communion with the godhead of Christ.

Lastlie, no sence could bee denised, more repugnant and opposite

• 1. Cor. 6.
If Christs soule
were forsaken
the vnion of
his two na-
tures was dis-
solved.

^b Iohn. 1.

40 The full redemption of mankind,

Christs words
& deeds proue
his soule was
not forsaken
of God.

^cMark.14.

^dLuke.23

^eLuke.23.

^fMatth.27.

^gIohn.18

^hIohn.16

ⁱ.Acts.2.

opposite to all that Christ saide or did after his agone, then this last found exposition, or rather depuration of his words. To the high priest asking him whether he were Christ the son of y blessed (God,) he answered I am; and ye shall see the son of man sit at the right hande of the power of God, and come in the cloudes of heauen. Christ was and must be farre from distrusting or doubting that, which he resolutelie affirmeth shal come to passe euen in the eyes of his enemies. When they fastened him to the crosse hee said, ^d Father, forgieue them, they know not what they do. Could he intreate and obtaine pardon for others, that found himselfe to be forsaken of God? To the thiefe that hung by him, and desired to be remembred when he came to his kingdome, he answered, ^e Verilie, I saie to thee, thou shalt this day bee with me in paradise. Could hee giue paradise to others, with so great confidence, that coulde not then assure himselfe of Gods fauour, yea, as these men will haue it, that was abandoned and forsaken of God? The Centurion that had the charge to see him put to death, and heard him speake these words, neuer conceived that he was reiected or estranged from God, but contrariwise confessed; ^f Truclie this man was the sonne of God. Christ himselfe knowing all thinges that should come vnto him, saide to his disciples; ^h Behold the houre is come, that ye shall be scattered, and leaue me alone, but I am not alone, for the father is with me. Now if God were with him, when his disciples left him, as he himselfe witnesseth, howe could his soule be forsaken of God? of Christ crucified Dauid saith (as Peter expoundeth his wordes) ⁱ I alwaies beheld the Lord before me, euen at my right hand, that I should not bee shaken. If Christ had all the time of his passion the fauour of God so constant, and the power of God so present, that hee coulde not be so much as moued or stiaied to and fro, for so the wordes $\cdot\iota\upsilon\alpha\ \mu\eta\ \sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\omega$ doe; signifie, that I should not waue vp and downe, but stand fixed and assured; how could that parte of Christ, which entioied so manifestlie the sight of Gods countenance, and strength

strength of Gods assistance, be forsaken or refused of God? And out of this complaint, that he was forsaken, if we inferre the paines of hell, wee conclude directlie against Christs wordes in the 16. psalme, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno*, Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hell. Christs soule was not forsaken in hell; if then it were forsaken on the crosse, it is evident that there it suffered not hell, for in hell it was neuer forsaken. And therefore turne and winde the wordes of Christ which way they will or can, this exposition, which they fasten vnto them, is a manifest contradiction to all that Christ did or saide on the crosse, and namelie to that assertion of Dauid, in the person of Christ, Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hell.

Then are there in the sacred scriptures neither anie predictions that Christ shoulde suffer the paines of hell in his soule here on earth; nor causes why he must suffer them; nor signes that he did suffer them; and consequentlie, what soeuer is pretended, no prooffe that these sufferings must be added to the crosse of Christ, before the worke of our saluation can be perfect. And for my part, which moderation I wish in you all, What I read in the word of God that I beleue, what I do not read that I doe not beleue. In Gods causes wee make not easily leaue Gods words, and with a new kind of speech make way for a new kinde of faith. We must learne from God what to beleue, and not by correcting or inuerting his words teach him how to speake. Since therefore redemption and remission of sinnes are enerte where in the scriptures referred to the death and blood of Christ, I dare not so much as thinke the words of the holie ghost in one of the greatest mysteries of our christian faith to be improper, or imperfect. And that you may the better perceane how plainelie and fullie this doctrine is deliuered in the propheticall & apostolical scriptures, I thinke it good to go forwardes with the effects of Christs crosse, by which it shall appeare howe sufficient the price of our redemption is, in the blood of Christ, without

42 The full redemption of mankind,

and supple of hell paines to be suffered in y^e soules of Christ.

The effects of
Christs crosse.

The effectes of Christs crosse though I might reckon manie, yet to keep my selfe within some compasse, I restraine to fve chiefe branches: the MERITE of his suffering, which was INFINITE; the MANER of his offering, which was BLOVDY; The POWER of his DEATH, which was mighty; the COMFORT of his CROSSE which was NECESSARIE, & the GLORY of his RESVRRECTION which was heauenly. These fve will direct vs not onely what to beleue, but what to refuse in the person and passion of our Saviour. I will therefore take them as they lie in order.

The merite of
Christs passion
must be infinite
in two respects

The merite of Christs suffering must be simply infinite; that it may worke two things for vs; to w^{ash}, redeeme vs from Sathan, and reconcile vs vnto God: cleere vs from hell, and bring vs to heauen; & in either respect it must be infinite. The wages of sinne is death, both of bodie and soule: here and for ever. With the Judge of the world is no unrighteousnesse. He therefore punisheth no man, without cause, or aboue desert. Since the reuenge of each mans sinne is eternall, y^e is infinite in time; the waight of each mans sinne must needs be infinite, as being rewarded with euermoring death. It may seme much to carnal men, that God should requite sin with euermoring reuenge; but if we seriously bethinke our selues what it is for earth and ashes to w^{ar}e proud against God, & after so manifold & abundant blessings to cast off his yoke, & readily, yea greedily to prefer euerie vanitie and fanisie before his heauenly truth, & glory; we shall presently perceiue how iust cause God hath infinitely to hate our uncleannes, & eternally to pursue the pride, contempt, & rebellion of wicked and wilfull men against his diuine maiestie; howsoeuer we digest it, it is a thing determined with God, and no doubt balaced in his vp^{er}ight and sincere iudgment. ^kThe soule that sinneth, that soule shal die. Death & life are both eternall, y^e is, infinite in length, though not in weight; in durance, though not in degree and sence of joy, or paine. Then in either respect

^aEzech. 18.

to

by the death and blood of Christ. 43

to counteruaile our deliuerance from hell, & our inheritance in heauen, the merit of Christs suffering must be infinite. An infinite purchase cannot be made, but with an infinite price.

For this infinite price whither shall we seeke? to the paines of hell, or to the powers of heauen? The paines of hel are neither meritorious nor infinite. What thanks with God to be separated from God? and the soule being alienated from God, what other part of man can merite his saue? ¹If any man fall away, my soule shall haue no pleasure in him. Hel paines therefore are accursed, not accepted of God; and hee that suffereth them is hated, and no way beloued. ^mDepart from me ye cursed into euerlasting fire. As they are not meritorious, no more are they infinite, I meane in waight; but they must euerlastingly be suffered, before they can be infinite. For not only diuels, but men of all sorts shall suffer them, who cannot endure any infinite sence of paine. All creatures are finite both in force to do, & strength to suffer. Infinit is as much as God himself hath, & therefore God alone is infinite. So that neither hel fire is of infinite force to punish, nor men nor angels of infinite strength to suffer, but the vengeance of sinne continueth for euer, by reason no creature is able to beare an infinite waight of punishment. Since then the paines of hel haue neither worth nor waight sufficient in themselves to satisfie the anger, & procure the saue of God, we must seeke to heauen, euen to God himselfe, for the true ransom for our sinnes, and redemption of our soules, which we nowhere find, but in the person of Christ Iesus, who being true God took our nature vnto him, and by the infinite price of his blood bought vs from the power of hel, & brought vs vnto God. For neither the vertues of Christs humane soule, though they were many; nor the sufferings of his flesh, though they were painful, are simply infinite, til we looke to his person, & then shall we find that ^aGod bought vs with his own blood to purchase his Church, & that ^owe were reconciled to God by the death of his sonne when we were his enemies. Bernarde expressing the

Hell is not infinite, but onlie in time.

¹Hebre. 10.

^mMarth. 25.

Nothing infinite but only God.

The merite of Christ is infinite in respect of his person,

^aActs. 20

^oRoman. 5.

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r Bernard de
passions cap. 17

infinite merite of Christs death and passion saith. *P In-*
comprehensibilis (deus voluit) comprehendi, summus humilia-
ri, potentissimus despici, pulcherrimus deformari, sapientissimus ut
inmentū fieri, immortalis mori, ut compendio absolnam, deus fieri
(voluit) vermiculus: quid excelsius deo? quid inferius vermiculo?

The incomprehensible (God woulde) be comprehended, the highest humbled, the most mighty despised, the most beautifull deformed, the most wise bee like a beast, the immortall (would) suffer death; to speake all in fewe wordes, God would become a Worme: what is higher then God? what is baser then a Worme? If betwéne the Creatoz and the best of his creatures there be an infinite distance; what thinke yee then was there betwixt the throne of God in heauen, and the crosse of Christ on earth: not an infinite distance? and so infinite that neither men nor Angels can comprehend it? The ground of our saluation then is the obedience, humility and charitie of the sonne of God, yeelding himselfe not onelie to serue in our stead, but to die for our sinnes. For when he was equall with God in nature, power, and glory, hee refused not to take the shape of a seruant vpon him, and to humble himselfe to the death of the crosse, not onelie obeying his fathers will, which we had despised; but abiding his hand for the chastisement of our peace. The Apostle noteth these three vertues in the person of Christ; ¶ Let the SAME AFFECTION (of loue) bee in you, which was in Christ Iesus, vvhoe being in the forme of God, emptied and humbled himselfe and became obedient to the death, euen to the death of the crosse. By his humilitie, obedience, and charity; hee purged the pride, rebellion, and selfeloue, which our first father shewed when he fell, and we all expresse in our sinnes; and therefore as wee all died in Adams transgression, so we are all iustified, that is absolved from our sinnes, and receaued into fauour, by the obedience of Christ.

¶ Philip. 2

¶ Yea the obedience of Christ did in farre higher degree please God the Father, then the rebellion of Adam did dis-

please

By the death and bloud of Christ. 45

please him. For there the vassall rebelled, here the equall ob-
 beted: there earth presumed to be like vnto God, here God
 boughsated to bee the lowest amongst men: there the crea-
 ture neglected his maker, here the creator so loued his ene-
 mies, euen his persecutors, that hee toke the burthen from
 their shoulders, and laid it on his owne, contentedly giuing
 his life for them, who cruellie toke his life from him: to con-
 clude, those were the sinnes of men, these are the vertues of
 God, which doe infinitely counteruaile the other, and for that
 cause the iustice of God is farre better satisfied with the obe-
 dience of Christ, then with the vengeance it might iustlie
 haue executed on the sinnes of men. For God hath no plea-
 sure in the death of the wicked, neither doth hee delight in
 mans destruction; but with the obedience of his sonne he is
 well pleased, and therein euen his soule delighteth. [¶] This is
 my beloued sonne in whom I am well pleased. [¶] Loe my cho-
 sen, my soule taketh pleasure in him. In which words God doth
 not onlie note the naturall loue betwixt his sonne and him-
 selfe; but he giueth full approbation of his obedience, as be-
 ing thereby thoroughlie satisfied for the sinne of man. By
 Christs obedience I doe not meane the holinesse of his life,
 or performance of the lawe, but the obedience of the person
 vnto death, euen the death of the Crosse; which was volun-
 tarilie offered by him, not necessarily imposed on him, aboue
 and besides the lawe, and no way required in the lawe. For
 it could be no dutie to God or man, but onelie mercie and
 pittie towarde vs, that caused the sonne of God to take
 our mortall and weake flesh vnto him, and therein, and ther-
 by to pay the rancome of our sinnes, and to purchase eter-
 nall life for vs. He must be a Saviour, no debter; a redeemer,
 no prisoner; Lord of all, euen when hee humbled himselfe to
 be the seruant of all; his diuine glorie, power and maiestie
 make his sufferings to be of infinite force and value. And
 from this dignitie, and vntie of his person, which is the
 maine pillar of our redemption, if we cast our eyes on any
 other

Christs obed-
 ence doth
 more then
 counteruaile
 Adams diso-
 bedience.

¶ Ezech. 33.

¶ Matt 3:
 ¶ Esay. 42.

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other cause, or devise any new help to strengthen the merits of Christ, wee dishonour and disable his divinitie, as if the sonne of God were not a full and sufficient price, to ransom the bodies and soules of all mankind.

^a Acts. 20.
The scriptures
ground our
saluation on
the dignitie of
Christs person
^a Rom. 8.
^y Eley. 40.

^a Rom. 5.

On this foundation doe the scriptures build the whole frame of mans redemption. ^a God purchased his church (saith Paule) WITH HIS OVNE BLOVD; GOD, noting the dignitie; HIS OVNE, the vntie of his person, and both imposing a price far worthier then the thing purchased. ^x God spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all. In that he was the sonne of God, al nations are counted vnto him (or in balance with him) ylesse the nothing, and vanitie; in that he was giuen for vs, the ransom excelleth the prisoner, as much as God doth man. We are reconciled to God by the death of his sonne. Paruell we to see Christs death of that power & price with God, that it appeased his wrath, when he was angrie with vs, as with his enemies; when as his owne son being equall with him in the forme of God, humbled himselfe to the death of the crosse for our sakes: fairer or fuller causes of our redemption we neede not aske, the holie Ghost doth not expresse, God cannot haue. If the son of God be not able with his blood to redeeme vs, wee must giue over all hope; and despaire. For heauen cannot yeeld vs a greater value, and the earth hath none like. Wherefore if any man be disposed to seale his own condemnation, with his own heart, let him distrust the merits of Christs death: but all that will be saved must acknowledge the infinite price of his death, and blood aboue our worth, and we must learne being sinfull and wretched creatures, not to amend the wordes of God, in the mysterie of our redemption, but suffer him that is trueth to be the guider of our faith, and not by figures to frustrate all that is written in the word of God touching our saluation, purchased by the death and blood of Christ Iesus.

And so do the
fathers.

I am not the first that obserued or urged this doctrine, it is auncient and Catholike. ^a *Cum super omnes esset Dei verbum*

by the death and bloud of Christ. 47

verbum, merito suum ipsius templum & corporale instrumen-
tum pro omnium animis pretium offerens, id quod morti debebatur
persoluit. Where as the word (or sonne) of God, (saith Athana-
sius) was aboute al, worthily then by offering his owne temple &
bodily instrument, as a price for the soules of all men, did he pay
that was due vnto death. Cyril. ^b Si non esset deus quomodo ipse
& solus sufficeret ad hoc, vt sit pretiū? Sed sufficit solus pro omni-
bus mortuus, quia super omnes est; deus igitur est, morte sua car-
nis à mundo mortē depellens. If Christ were not God, how could
he alone suffice to be the ransome (for al?) but he alone dead suf-
ficeth for all, because he is aboute all; he is therefore God, by the
death of his flesh, driuing away death from the worlde. And
againe; ^c Redempti sumus Christo proprium corpus dante pro no-
bis. Sed si vt communis homo intelligeretur Christus, quomodo
corpus eius ad rependendam omnium vitam sufficeret? At si deus
fuit in carne, qui dignissimus, sufficiens ad redemptionem totius
mundi per suum sanguinē merito fuit. We are redeemed, Christ
giuing his own body for vs. But if Christ be taken to be no more
then a man, how should his body be sufficient to restore life to al
men? but if he were God in our flesh, worthily the did he suffice
to redeem the whole world with his bloud. Austen. ^d Si propter
hominē mortuus est deus, nō est victurus homo cum deo? quomodo
mortuus est deus? accepit ex te vnde moreretur pro te; nō posset
mori nisi caro nō posset mori nisi mortale corpus. If god died for mā
shall not mā liue with god? but how died god? he took of thine
wherin to die for thee. There could nothing die but flesh, there
could die nothing but a mortal body. And elswhere an ancient
writter vnder his name, if not himselfe. Indubitanter creda-
mus quod totum mundum redemit, qui plus dedit quā totus mun-
dus valeret: inter redimentē & redemptum dispensatio, non com-
pensatio fuit. Let vs vndoubtedly beleue that hee redeemed
the whole worlde, which gaue more then the whole world was
worth. Betweene the redeemer and the redeemed there was a
dispensation (of humilitie) no compensation (of equality.) And
to shewe the truth of his speech he addeth; ^e Innocency was
arraigned for the guiltie, mercie was buffered for the cruell, piety

^a Athanasius de
incarnatione ci-
satur a Theodo-
reso dialogo, 3.

^b Cyril de recta
fide ad reginas in
1. Timothei. 2.
dedit semetipsum
pretium pro
nobis.

^c Cyril ibidem
in 1. Petri, 1.
pretioso sanguine
Christi redemp-
tione.

^d August. in psal.
148.

^e August. de
tempore. 114.

was

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was whipped for the vngodlie, wisdom was mocked for the foolish, righteousness was condemned for the vnrighteous, truth was slaine for the liar, life died for him that was dead. And doe wee yet, remembzing who he was, and what we were, stagger to confesse with these Christian and Catholike fathers, that his blond was a most sufficient price for all the world? or wonder we to see death ouerthrowne by his death, who was the fountaine of life, and could no more bee swallowed vp of death, then God himselfe could be conquered by the power of darkenesse.

The mightier
Christs person
the fitter to
conquer, but
not to suffer
hell.

[The mightier Christs person, the more able he was (some will say) to suffer death & hell.] he would be partaker of our mortall infirmitie, that by suffering death for the time hee might conquer the force thereof for euer; but the gates of hell could not preuaile against him, because the Prince of this world had nothing in him. The inward man may be strongest when the outward man is weakest; and when the flesh is nearest unto death, the spirit may cleane fastest unto God, Christ therefore in dying for our sakes shewed a most excellent, and eminent example of his obedience, loue, and patience; but in suffering hell there is no signe of grace, nor shew of vertue. Voluntarilie to forsake God, or willinglie to be forsaken of God, is the greatest impietie that can bee committed. And against his will Christ neuer did, nor might suffer anie thing: for that had bene violence, not obedience; vengeance, not patience; force, not loue. But all constraint was farre from Christ, that his sufferings might be a voluntary sacrifice to witnesse his loue, and declare his merits, which in compulsion could be none. Since then the sonne of God neither willinglie would, nor forcible could be forsaken of his father; it is a dangerous deuise to subiect his soule to hell, which is the totall and finall separation of the wicked from God, and his kingdome.

Eight things
in hel paines,
which by no
means Christs

And that wee may a little the better bethinke our selues, before we growe too resolute in this assertion, that Christs soule suffered the verie paines of hell; I will obserue some things,

by the death and bloud of Christ. 49

things, which the scriptures affirme of hell; & may not be applied to Christ without apparant insurie. First hel is outward and inward darkenesse; nowe Christ was light, and in him was no darknesse of the soule. & As long as I am in the worlde I am (sayth hee) the light of the worlde. When as the ^h light hath no fellowshippe with darkenesse, no more had Christ with hell, which is the ⁱ power of darkenesse, from whence hee hath deliuered vs. Secondly, hell is destruction both of bodie and soule. ^k Feare not them (saith Christ) which kill the bodie, but cannot kill the soule; feare him rather which is able to destroye both soule and bodie in hell. In the Sauour of both, wee maie not admitte the destruction of both: howe shall he saue vs, that could hardlie, and as some write, MAXIMA CVM DIFFICULTATE. with much a do saue himselfe? But ^l God sent his sonne to bee the Sauour of the worlde. We must not therefore wrappe him within the destruction of bodie and soule; no not for an hower, or an instant. Thirdly, hell is the second death. The first is of the bodie for a time, the second is of the soule for euer. ^m The lake burning with fire and brimstone, this is the second death (saith Saint Iohn.) Of this death Austen saith, ⁿ *De prima corporis morte dici potest quod bonis bona sit & malis mala; secunda vero sine dubio sicut nullorum est bonorum, ita nulli bona. Ideo vero secunda, quia post illam prima est.* The first death of the bodie is good to the good, and euill to the euill; but the seconde death without doubt, as no good man suffereth it, so is it good to none: and therefore it is called the seconde death, because it followeth after the first. Before the first death, no man suffereth hell, which is the seconde death, and before wee maie auouch it of Christ, wee must take all goodnesse from him; for doubtlesse (sayeth Austen) no good man dooth suffer it. And indeede howe pernicious it is to make the soule of Christ lyable to the death of the soule, I shall afterwarde haue occasion to speake. In the meane time S. Iohn affirmeth, that hell goeth not before death,

soule might suffer.

ⁱ
^s Iohn. 9.
^h 2. Cor. 6.
ⁱ Colos. 1.

^a
^h Mat. 10.

ⁱ Iohn. 4.

3.

^m Apoc. 20.

ⁿ *Au. ust. de ciui. dei. lib. 13 cap. 2.*

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• Apoc. 6.

4.
• Mark 9.

• Hebr. 7.

• Hebr. 2.

• Mat. 25.

death, but followeth after death. ° I looked (saith he) and beheld a pale horse, and his name that sat on him, was death, and HELL FOLLOWED AFTER HIM: and therefore it cannot stand with truth to subiect the soule of Christ yet living on earth, to the very paines of the damned. Fourthly, their **PWORME** in hell neuer dieth, for so much as the remembrance of their sinnes committed against God everlastingly biteeth and afflicteth the conscience. Now in Christ as there was no taint of sinne, so could there bee no touch of conscience accusing, no remorse of any transgression agaynst God. With compassion of our sinnes he might be moued and troubled; but worne of conscience hee could haue none, who was paine to his owne heart, that he was ° holie, harmlesse, vndefiled, and separated from sinners, and therefore needed no sacrifice for his owne sinnes, but as ° a faythfull and mercifull high Priest by the offering of him selfe once, made an attonement for the sinnes of the people.

But what the paines of the damned are, the sentence of the Iudge will best declare. *Discedite à me maledicti in ignem eternum*, Depart from mee ye cursed into euermlasting fire, prepared for the diuell and his Angels. In which wordes there are foure things, which by no meanes can agree vnto Christ; **REJECTION, MALEDICTION, VENGEANCE OF FIRE, & CONTINUANCE THERIN FOR EVER.** As sin is a voluntary separation of man from god, so hell is a totall and finall exclusion of the sinfull fro enioying the presence or patience of God anie longer. The time of this life is the respite of Gods patience towards all the wicked; with the ende thereof, beginneth his eternall vengeance, which wholie and for ever debarreth the workers of wickednesse from the kingdome of God. This reiection the soule of Christ could not suffer, beeing inseparably ioyned to the Godhead of Christ. We must not in stead of a naturall and mutuall coniunction, beleue or teach a reall & effectuall separation betwixt God and man, in the person of Christ, no not a perswa-

perswasion thereof in the soule of our Saviour, which is all one with Desperation, and sheweth the condition rather of the Reprobate, then of the children of God, much lesse of him that was God and man. As the Sonne of God coulde not bee REJECTED; no more could hee bee ACCURSED. He that is ioyned with God, must needs bee partaker of Gods goodnesse. God is the fountaine of all blisse; hee therefore filleth with his blessing all that are vnited vnto him. And if we, when we cleane vnto him by faith and loue, must needs deriue from him ioy and blisse; coulde the soule of Christ bee personallie ioyned with him, and not be perpetuallie blessed by him? Though then it pleased our Saviour to suffer a cursed kinde of death for our sinnes, and by receyuing that curse in his flesh to quench the spirituall and eternall curse that hung ouer our heades; yet his soule was neuer accursed, since he was alwaies beloued; and the curse of God compriseth not onelie the anger and hatred, but the intolerable and vnceaseable vengeance of God, which pursueth the soules and bodie of the wicked with flaming fire for ever. For how could al nations of the earth be blessed in him; if he himselfe were accursed? but God sent him to blesse vs: hee must therefore be storied with fulnes of blessing, first for himselfe, then for vs all.

And could we frame our tongues, which I hope all Christians with heart detest, so much to dishonour the person of Christ as to auouch him to be truly reiected and accursed of his Father, for the time bee it neuer so short; yet we must not shew our selues so void of al sense, as to say that Christs soule suffered HEL FIRE; which is the perpetuall and essentiall punishment of all the damned. Let vs not come within that danger of so desperate follie; not to knowe, or not to care, what we defend or affirme. It should haue some p^{ro}ofe, it should haue some truth, what soeuer is held for matter of faith. That Christs soule was tormented with hell fire Aske not what p^{ro}ofe, or truth, but what shewe we can bee pretended?

6.

Gen 22.
Acts 3.

7.

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pretended: The fire of hell, they will say is metaphoricall; they that go thither shall find it no metaphoze. It is no good dallying with Gods eternall, and terrible iudgements. The Scriptures are so plaine, and so full of the parts and effects of fire in hell, that I dare not allegorize them. Christ maketh the rich mans soule in hell to saie, ^x I am tormented in this flame. Saint Iohn saith it is a ^y lake burning with fire and brimstone. Daniel saith, ^z a fire streame issued from before Christ sitting in iudgement. Paul saith, it is ^a a violent fire which shall deuoure the aduersaries. God himselte saith, ^a ^b fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the bot-tome of hell, and shall enflame the foundations of the hilles. If therefore the paines of the damned come in question, it is not safe to measure them by our imaginations, but to giue eare to the holie ghost, who can best expresse them; and by him wee learne, that if anie man worshippe the beast and his image, he shall ^c drinke of the wine of the wrath of God, and shall be tormented in fire and Brimstone before the holie Angels, and before the lambe. And the smoke of their torment shall ascende euermore; and they shall haue no rest night nor daie. Into this fire if we cast Chrisses soule, we must take heede our proofes be sound and sure; least our presumption exclude vs from the place where Christ is; and leaue vs in the lake where hee neuer was: there to learne what it is rashlie to conclude the thinges that are not confirmed by the word of God. But I perswade my self, few men of learning or religion, will venter on this desperate resolution, that Chriss soule here on earth suffered hell fire, and therefore to propose it, is enough to confute it.

The last thing in hell fire, is that it is eternal. For as there is no remission of paine, so thence is no redemption; but once adiudged thither is euerlastingly fastened to that place of torment. And this is cause enough to stae all men, that bee soberlie minded, from defending that Chriss soule suffered the paines of hell, which the holie Ghost saith

^y Luke 16.

^y Reuel. 21.

^y Dan. 7.

^a Heb. 10.

^a Deut. 32.

^c Reuel. 14.

saith are endles. ^a They which knowe not God, and obey not the gospell shall suffer paines, euen everlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lord, saith the Apostle to the Thessalonians. ^{d 2. Thes. 1.} And so Peter, ^e to whom the myst of darkenesse is reserued for euer. ^{e 2. Peter. 2.} And Iude, ^f Sodome and Gomorthe are set for an example, which suffer the punishment of everlasting fire. ^{f Iud. epist.} **¶** ^g **¶** ^h **¶** ⁱ **¶** ^j **¶** ^k **¶** ^l **¶** ^m **¶** ⁿ **¶** ^o **¶** ^p **¶** ^q **¶** ^r **¶** ^s **¶** ^t **¶** ^u **¶** ^v **¶** ^w **¶** ^x **¶** ^y **¶** ^z **¶** ^{aa} **¶** ^{ab} **¶** ^{ac} **¶** ^{ad} **¶** ^{ae} **¶** ^{af} **¶** ^{ag} **¶** ^{ah} **¶** ^{ai} **¶** ^{aj} **¶** ^{ak} **¶** ^{al} **¶** ^{am} **¶** ^{an} **¶** ^{ao} **¶** ^{ap} **¶** ^{aq} **¶** ^{ar} **¶** ^{as} **¶** ^{at} **¶** ^{au} **¶** ^{av} **¶** ^{aw} **¶** ^{ax} **¶** ^{ay} **¶** ^{az} **¶** ^{ba} **¶** ^{bb} **¶** ^{bc} **¶** ^{bd} **¶** ^{be} **¶** ^{bf} **¶** ^{bg} **¶** ^{bh} **¶** ^{bi} **¶** ^{bj} **¶** ^{bk} **¶** ^{bl} **¶** ^{bm} **¶** ^{bn} **¶** ^{bo} **¶** ^{bp} **¶** ^{bq} **¶** ^{br} **¶** ^{bs} **¶** ^{bt} **¶** ^{bu} **¶** ^{bv} **¶** ^{bw} **¶** ^{bx} **¶** ^{by} **¶** ^{bz} **¶** ^{ca} **¶** ^{cb} **¶** ^{cc} **¶** ^{cd} **¶** ^{ce} 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And where some men begin to doubt, whether eternal continuance be of the nature & substance of hell or no, they shall doe well to leaue these dangerous and fruitelesse speculations. For whether they looke to the persons for vvhom; or the crimes for vvhich; or the Iudge, by vvhom it was prepared; they shall euertie wate find it must be eternall. It was ^m prepared for the diuell and his Angels, and to them coulde no punishment be allotted but everlasting, except we will giue possibilitie of grace, and hope of repentance vnto diuels. It is the wages of sinne; which being an infinite contempt of the

The paines of hel are eternal

Math. 25.

54 The full redemption of mankind,

diuine maiestie, must by the balance of iustice haue infinite vengeance in waight, or in length. And since no creature is able to beare an infinite burden and sence of paine, of soe all sinnefull creatures must bee condemned to an infinite length of punishment; which is hell fire. I aske, as God is eternall and cannot change; no more can his iustice, or iudgement alter with time; but as his truth abideth for ever, so his iudgment being iust and good is irrenocable; & consequently the vengeance of sinne can neuer cease, as proceeding from the righteous iudge of the world, in whom is no shadowing, nor varying. And therefore Paul calleth the iudgement eternal, whereby God shall rewarde euerie man according to his worke; & our sauior forwarneeth vs not in vaine, that hel fier is PVNQVENCHABLE, & EVERLASTING. Since then neither the remorse, reiection, malediction, nor desperation of the damned; nor the darkenes, destruction, death, & fire of hel can without euident impiety be attributed to the soule of Christ; I am farre from admitting into any part of the Creed this ambiguous, if not dangerous assertion, that Christ in his soule on the crosse felt the verie paines, and torments of the damned: but I preferre the simple and plaine doctrine of the holie Ghost, which teacheth vs that Christ died for our sinnes according to the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that hee rose againe the thirde daie according to the scriptures, and by Christs so doing, death was swallowed vp into victory; and we may iustly saie, O death where is thy sting? O hell where is thy victory? thanking God which hath giuen this victorie through our Lorde Iesus Christ, as it was forespoken by the prophet Esay. The Lorde will destroy death for ever; and by Osee, O death I will bee thy death, O hell I will bee thy destruction.

The manner of Christs offering is the second effect of Christs crosse which must be bloudie, before it can be propitiatorie. In this part I will deliuer you three thinges worthy to be obserued; with what Sacrifice God was pleased for our sinnes,

* Iames. I.

* Heb. 6.

* Mark. 9.

* 1. Corinth. 15

* Ibidem.

* Esay. 25.

* Osee. 13.

The sacrifice for sinne must be bloudy, before it could be propitiatorie.

sinnes, with what price the Diuell was concluded for our ransome, with what Seale the newe covenant of grace and mercie was confirmed vnto vs for our safetie. These thre depend eache on other. God, as the Iudge offended, was to haue a sacrifice for our sinne, that might content him; the Diuell as the Iailour, was to haue a ransome for vs, that were by Gods Justice deliuered into his handes; Our selues as prisoners were to bee restored by Gods pardon, and to be assured of his protection, that the like miserie might not the second time preuaile against vs; which is performed by the newe Testament of mercie forgiuing, and grace repressing sinne, that wee relapse not into the pit of perdition whence wee were deliuered.

What was the true propitiatorie sacrifice which God accepted for the sinnes of the world; if the new testament did not plainelie declare, the olde testament would sufficientlie witness vnto vs. For as well Patriarks as Prophets, yea all the goodlie from Abel to Christ did by their sacrifices and seruice of God professe and confirme their faith to be this, that they looked for the Seede of the woman, who by his death and bloud should purge their sinnes, and make peace betwene God and them. This was the promise of grace which God made in Paradise to our first parents, threatening the serpent with the seede of the woman in these words; 'He shall crush thine heade, and thou shalt bruise his heele. As the heele of man is the basest part of his bodie, and nearest the earth; so the Serpent shoulde bruise the weakest and earthliest part of Christ; but euen that bruized heele should bee of force enough to crush the Serpentes head. For by the flesh of Christ wounded, and bloud shed, the power & pride of satan should be conquered and confounded. This sence of Gods promise made to his parents, Abell the first martyr by faith accepted, by sacrifice adored; and in that respect his bodilie and bloudie offering was preferred before his brothers.

The true sacrifice for sinne was shadowed in the figures and sacrifices of the former testament.

'Genes. 3:

56 The full redemption of mankind,

brothers. This faith did all the Patriarkes testifie by their bloudie sacrifices, that they expected the bodie of the Messias to be buyzed, and his blood to be shed for the remission of their sinnes. And as they receiued it from their fathers, so they deliuered it to their children for the stout anchor of all their hope. This God did ratifie by his lawe written, suffering his people to haue no sacrifices for sinne, but such as represented the bloudie offering of Christ on the crosse. So that all the sacrifices and sacraments of Moses lawe were nothing else but figures and examples of better things, as the Apostle calleth them, namelie of Christs bodie once to be offered, and his blood once to be shed for the abolishing of sinne. The FIGURES of Christ before and vnder the lawe, what else doe they point, but to the death, blood, and crosse of Christ to be the redemption and saluation of all mankind: Abrahams readinesse to offer vp Isaac, for which the blessing was annered to him with an othe, what doth it import but the loue of God? Not sparing his owne sonne, but giuing him for vs all? The blood of the passeouer sprinkled on the postes of the Israelites to auert the destroyer; doth it not represent the blood of that immaculate lambe, which saueth vs from the fiercenesse of Gods wrath? The lifting vp the brazen serpent to cure the people that were stung with fierie Serpents, doth it not foreshewe Christ hanging on the crosse to cure our soules from the poison of sinne, which is the sting of that deadlie serpent? The strength of Sampson pulling the house on his owne and his enemies heades, doth it not declare the voluntarie death of Christ, to be the destruction of death and hell, which insulted at him on the crosse?

When the truth came expessed by all these sacrifices, and resembled in all these figures, what offering made he on the altar of the crosse? Did he yeelde his soule to the paines of hell, or his bodie to be crucified of the Jewes? both they will saie; for so they must saie, except they will haue their supposall of hell paines cleane excludcd from the sacrifice for sin.

But

*Hebre 9

*Rom. 8

The Patriarks
and prophets
did not mistake
the true sacrifice
for sinne.

By the death and bloud of Christ. 37

But which of these two was beleued of the Patriarks, witnessed by the sacrifices, shadowed in the figures of the law, expected of the faithfull from the foundation of the worlde? The bloudie sacrifice of Christs bodie is so plainlie proclaimed by them all, that there can bee no question of their faith and expectation. And were they deceived in the object of their faith, and hope? Did they all mistake the true sacrifice for their sinnes? and did God by his law confirme them in that errour? And doeth the Apostle falselie conclude from the sacrifices of the lawe, that Christs offering befoze it coulde take awaie sinne, must of force bee bloudie? These were verie strange positions in Christian religion, and yet I see not how wee shall avoide them, if we stillie maintaine the suffering of hell paines to bee the chieffer and principaller part of our redemption, without which the rest is nothing. If their faith fastened on the death and bloud of Christ for the remission of their sinnes did save them, then was the death of Christ of force enough, without the paines of Hell to release them from their sinnes; and bying them unto God. And if it wrought that effect in them, it is still of the same power and strength to worke the like in us. If it were insufficient to release them from the rigour of Gods wrath, then are the Patriarkes perished in their sinnes, by mistaking the true price of their redemption. For that they knewe any thing of Christs suffering Hell paynes, I thinke will hardlie bee proved. But out of question their faith was right which was settled on the bloud of Christ to bee shedde for the redẽming of their sinnes; and themselves are Saintes in Gods kingdome: Wee must therefore take heede that wee doe not rashlie varie from the foundation of their faith and hope; which must likewise be ours, with this onelie difference, that they beleued in him, which should take away the sins of the worlde by his death and crosse, and we in him that hath taken them away.

58 The full redemption of mankind!

Rencl. 13

Three properties of the true sacrifice for sinne, vrged by the Apostle.

1.

2.

Hebre. 9

3.

Hebre. 10

Hebre. 9

The time doth differ; but the meanes are still the same. The lamb was slaine from the beginning of the world; not actually, but in the counsaile of God, which did purpose it; and in the truth of God, which did promise it; as likewise in the faith of all his saints, which do rest & reioice in it; for whose steps if we swaue, we may not looke to be Abraham's children, & refuse Abraham's faith as erroneous, & chalenge our father for misbeliefe.

If the offerings and faith of the Patriarchs were not pregnant enough to lead vs to the true sacrifice for sinne; the Apostle to the Hebrewes doth so purposefully and positively handle it, that I much muse how any man of iudgement or learning can mistake it. For if we marke but these conclusions, which the Apostle maketh; we cannot erre from the truth in this behalfe. The true sacrifice for sinne must be but ONE, and ONCE OFFERED, not often, nor iterated, by reason it is perfect and able to cleanse vs from all sinne. It must bee BLOVDY, for so were all the offerings of the lawe, and without shedding of blood is no remission. It must bee CONFIRMED BY DEATH, that redemption purchased might neuer bee reuoked, nor altered. These three positions are mainelie and mightilie vrged by the holie ghost, the 9. and 10. to the Hebrewes; and for this faith, are all the fathers of the old Testament from Abel to Samuel passed in the 11. chapter of that Epistle. This man (saith Paul meaning Christ) after he had offered ONE SACRIFICE FOR SINNE, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God. For with ONE OFFERING had he made perfect for ever those which are sanctified. Now where remission (of sinne) is, there is no more offering for sinne. Christ then making but one offering for sinne, we must not make two; but rather learne that that one was, which we may do without any difficultie, since the Apostle so plainly teacheth vs, that we are sanctified by THE OFFERING OF THE BODY OF IESVS ONCE; that BY HIS OWNE BLOVD CHRIST ENTERED in Once into the holy place, and FOYND ETERNALL REDEMPTION. Almost all things are by the

By the death and blood of Christ. 59

the law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission. It was then necessary that the similitudes of heauenlie things (in the law) should be purified with such things; (as the blood of bulles and goates) but heauenly things the iustelues with better sacrifices then these; even with the blood of **CHRIST**. For if the blood of bulles and goates sanctifieth as touching the purifying of the flesh; howe much more shall **THE BLOOD OF CHRIST**, who through the eternall spirit offered himselfe without spot to God, **PURGE YOUR CONSCIENCES FROM DEAD WORKS** to serue the living God? And for this cause is he the Mediator of the newe Testament, that **THROUGH DEATH** which was for **THE REDEMPTION OF THE TRANSGRESSIONS IN THE FORMER TESTAMENT**, they which were called might receiue the promise of eternal inheritance. For where a testament is, there must be **THE DEATH OF HIM THAT MADE THE TESTAMENT**. For it is of no force, so long as he that made it is aliue; wherefore neither was the first testament ordained without blood. ¶ **Iesus** then suffered without the gate, that he might **SANCTIFIE** the people **WITH HIS OWNE BLOOD**; and this is the blood of the everlasting Testament, through which God brought againe from the dead our Lorde **Iesus**. **Christ** confirmeth the same when he saith, This is **MY BLOOD** of the new testament **WHICH IS SHED** for many for **THE REMISSION OF SINNES**.

The words be plainer then that they neede any commentarie. There was but **ONE** sacrifice that coulde abolish sinne; even **THE OBLATION OF THE BODIE OF IESVS ONCE**, whose **BLOOD** purged our consciences from dead works, and purchased eternal inheritance, by the **TESTATORS DEATH**, FOR **THE REDEMPTION** of those sinnes, which we committed against the former Testament. What shal haue we to shun the force of these wordes, or to bring in the paines of hell in **Christs** soule, as a part of the propitiatory sacrifice for sinne? **Christ** made but one oblation of himselfe for sinne, and that was the suffering of death in his body

Hebre. 9. 14
1. 2. 3. 4.

1. 2. 3. 4.

Hebre. 13

Matth. 26.

To our best
The sacrifice
for sinne was
bodily, bloody,
and deadly.

60 The full redemption of mankind,

for the redemption of our transgressions; and shedding of his blood for the remission of our sinnes. ~~More~~ then one, hee needed not make; for that one obtained eternall redemption: and other then this, he did not make, for his offering was both **BODILY** and **BLOODY**. This is my body, which is given, (and) broken for you; this is my blood, which is shed for manie. **THE ORATION OF THE BODY** of Iesus once & **THE SHEDDING OF HIS BLOOD** are of strength & force enough to cleanse vs from our sins, & to procure vs the promise of everlasting inheritance, which being confirmed by the death of the testator standeth irremovable. How canne wee then bring in another sacrifice of Christs soule suffering the paines of hell, which could be neither bodily nor bloody, but wee must increase the number, and confounde the differences of Christs offerings, and weaken the force of his eternall & corporal sacrifice, which was the truth that answered & accomplished all the signes of the law? For the insufferable paines of hel are no where prefigured in the sacrifices of the law, that I find; nor so much as once mentioned in the Apostles discourse, of Christs sacrifice for sinne, that I reade; & therefore if we adde them as a necessary part of our redemption, we derogate from the blood of Christ, as insufficient without those torments to cleanse vs from our sins, & pacifie the wrath of God, that was kindled against vs.

What danger it is to depart from so manifest words of the holy ghost in so high a point of faith, & by things unwritten to discredit things written, I neede not admonish such as be learned; let the simple take heed, that they suffer not reason to ouerrule religion, & obscure and doubtful places in the scriptures to wrest from them the perspicuous and perpetuall doctrine of the holy ghost. How full and perfect the redemption is, which wee haue by the blood of Christ, if you search the Scriptures you shall easilie see; if you doe but hearken you shall presently learne. The blood of Christ doth **REDEEME, CLENSE, WASH, IUSTIFY, & SANCTIFY** the elect.

8 Luke. 22
11. Corin. 11
2 Mark. 14

The force of
Christs blood
expressed in
the scriptures.

by the death and blood of Christ. 61

elect; It doth **PACIFIE** and **PROPIIATE** the Judge; It
 doth **SEALE** THE COVENANT of mercie, grace & glorie, be-
 twixt God & man; It doth **CONCLVDE** and bind the diuell;
 what more can be required I verily cannot cōteature. If the
 blood of Christ performe al these things for vs, & more we can
 not aske or expect; why sh^d in he we from it as unable to save
 vs, except it be supplied with the paines of hell? Whether I
 affirme any thing of mine owne, or deliver you that which is
 plainly taught in **scriptures**, Iudge you. Ye were **REDEE-**
MED (saith Peter) by the precious blood of Christ as of a Lambe
 vnspotted, and vndefiled. Christ by his own blood (saith Paul)
 entered once into the holy place **OBTAINING** eternall **RE-**
DEMPTION. The blood of Iesus Christ **CLENSETH** vs fro
 all our finnes. He **WASHED** vs from our finnes in his blood.
 Being now **IUSTIFIED** by his blood, we shall bee saved
 from wrath through him. Iesus suffered that hee might
 sanctifie the people with his blood. By Christ then we
 haue redemption through his blood; even the remission of
 finnes, and nowe in Christ Iesus yee which once were farre
 off, are made neere by the blood of Christ. For it
 hath pleased (the Father) by him to reconcile all thinges
 vnto himselfe. And to pacifie through the blood of his Crosse
 both thinges in earth, and thinges in heauen: Whome God
 hath purposed to bee a Reconciliation through sayth in his
 blood. And therefore the newe testament is sealed with Christs
 blood. This is (saith hee) my blood of the newe Testament,
 which is shed for manie for the remission of finnes. Yee are
 come to Iesus the mediator of the newe Testament. (saith
 Paul) & to the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better things
 then that of **Abell**; for **Abels** blood cried for vengeance; but
 Christs blood speaketh for mercie and grace. And for that
 cause Paul calleth it, The blood of the everlasting Testa-
 ment; For this is the Testament; that I will make with the
 house of Israel; after those dayes sayeth the Lorde, I will

¹ 1 Pet. 1.

¹ Hebr. 9.

¹ 1 Iohn 1.

¹ Reuel. 1

¹ Rom. 5.

¹ Heb. 13.

¹ Ephel. 1.

¹ Ephel. 2.

¹ Colol. 1.

¹ Rom. 3.

¹ Mar. 26.

¹ Heb. 12.

¹ Heb. 13.

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put my lawes in their minde, and in their heart I will write them, and I will bee their God, and they shall bee my people; I will be mercifull to their unrighteousnesse, and I will remember their finnes and iniquities no more. This testament of mercie, grace and glorie is confirmed by the death of Christ; and sealed with his blood, which if we weaken or frustrate with our inventions, or additions, wee must looke for that fearefull iudgement which the Apostle threatneth. He that despiseth Moses lawe dieth without mercie vnder two or three witnesses: Of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shall he be worthis, which treadeth vnder foote the sonne of God, and counteth vnholie the blood of the Testament, where-with he was sanctified, and reprocheth the spirit of grace? The wrong that is offered to the blood of the new Testament, treadeth vnder foote the sonne of God, and reprocheth the spirit of grace. Now howe can we more vn sanctifie the blood of the Testament, then to make it so precious, that it cannot redeeme vs without the paines of hell, or to set by another price, for which we haue no expresse record, against, or aboue the blood of Christ, by which we are cleansed from our finnes, and reconciled to God?

I knowe they will and must answer, the paines of hell are contained in the blood of Christ; for so much as he suffered the one in their imagination, when hee died the other. Could they proue by expresse and infallible testimonies (which they cannot do) that Christ suffered in that the paines of the damned, they had some reason to compare the one with the other; but no such thing being warranted, or witnessed in the scriptures, they must take heed, that they do not elude, rather then expound the words of the holie ghost with a perpetuall Synecdoche, which shall frustrate the very force of all those euident and vehement speeches. For it is strange to mee, first, that without full proue any such thing should be ioined to the blood of Christ; to helpe the price thereof. Next that the holie ghost should alwayes hye the one, and

as

Heb. 8.

Heb. 10.

Whether the
paines of hell
be comprised
in the blood
of Christ.

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as it were continuallie forget the other. Wherfore, the things which are named in the Scriptures, as they were the last, so are they the chiefest parts of Christs sufferings, the rest being understood as antecedent to them, and not eminent above them. Nowe the CROSSE, BLOOD, and DEATH of Christ are euery where mentioned in the scriptures, as the verie groundworke and pillars of our redemption. Lastlie the bodie of Christ wounded, and his blood shed for the remission of sinnes, are the seales that confirme and ratifie the new testament; and therefore they giue chiefest power and strength to the whole covenant; as appeareth by the Sacraments: which import vnto vs not the paines of hell; but the death and blood of Christ, as the right and true meanes of our redemption. Know ye not (saith Paule) that all we which haue beene baptised into Iesus Christ, haue beene baptised into his death? Wee are buried then with him by baptism into his death. And speaking of the Lords Supper he saith: As often as ye shall eate this bread, and drinke this cuppe, ye shewe the Lords death vntill he come. The cuppe of blessing which wee blesse; is it not the communion of Christs blood? The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of Christs bodie? By these we are grafted into Christ, by these wee are quickned, & nourished into life euermoring. And these propose vnto vs no terrible paines of hell; but the bodie of Christ wounded, and his blood shed for the remitting of our sinnes, and vnting vs vnto Christ, that we may be members of his bodie, of his flesh, and of his bones.

Yea what an vnthankfull part were it for the captiues that are enlarged, to chalenge the ransom, which was payde for their freedom, as defectiue; when the aduersarie from whom we were bought, receyued it by the rule of Gods iustice, as a price most sufficient for vs all that were deliuered: I will redeeme them from the power of hell, I will ransom them from death (saith God by his Prophet:) you were bought with a PRICE (saith Paul.) The price then which Christ

Rom. 6.

1. Cor. 11.

1. Cor. 10.

Ephes. 5.

Christs blood
the verie price
of our redemption.

paide.

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paid must be fully worth the thing redeemed. For since it pleased God, not by force to take vs from Satan, but with a price to buye vs out of his hands, it were dishonour to God, and a kinde of reproch to giue lesse for vs, then might counteruaile vs. And therefore let vs rest assured that the price which Christ payed for vs, was of farre greater value then we were, not onelie in the vpright iudgement of God, but even in the malicious and furious desire of Satan, who thirsted after the blood of the sonne of God, with greedier saues, then after all the worlde besydes, and triumphed more in bringing him to a shameful death, then in the destruction of all the saythfull. Wherefore the wisdom and iustice of God, suffered him to shewe his rage on the flesh of Christ, and as it were to trample in his blood, which hee spilt like water on the earth; and left him that, which hee so eagerly pursued, and in his malice against Gods glorie preferred before all the worlde, as a full payment for all those that shoulde be deliuered by the death of Christ. And for this cause the blood of Christ is called by his holie ghost the PRICE of our REDEMPTION.

Ye were REDEEMED (saith Peter) WITH THE PRECIOUS BLOOD of Christ as of a lambe vnspotted and vndefiled. *Pea the song which the Saints in heauen do sing vnto the lambe is this, Thou wast killed, and HAST REDEEMED VS TO GOD BY THY BLOOD.*

How the price
of our redemption
was paid.

¹ *Neuen*
erat. 4. 2. in
Pascha. 2.
¹ *Gene. 2.*

When I say the blood of Christ was the price, wherewith God redeemed vs out of Satans power, I doe not mean that God made anie contract with Satan, or took his consent to exchange; much lesse, that Christ did profer his blood to the diuell, to set vs free: it were an inurie to Christ for vs to thinke his blood was shed to ¹ satisfye the diuell as Gregory Nazianzene wel obserueth in his oration *de Pascha*; but Christ offered his blood as a sacrifice to god his father to verifye the iudgement pronounced against vs, ¹ Thou shalt die the death, and to satisfye the iustice of God prouoked with

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with our sinnes; yet in coming to his death, since his life might not be ended, neither with his owne hand, nor by the hand of his Father, the wisdom of God^m delivered him into the hands of sinners, by whose blinde zeale and bloudie rage the diuell, that worketh in the children of disobedience, conspired and compassed his death, and with all maner of contumelie and crueltie abused his body, and spilt his blood, insulting at him by the mouths of the wicked, and rejoycing in the conquest he gate over Christ in bringing him to a reprochfull death. But this extreame rage of Satan against the person of Christ, turned to the utter ruine of his owne kingdome. For God did not onely raise againe the Lord Iesus from death, as dying an innocent without all desert, but in recompence of the wrong, which he received at Satans hands, to the which he willingly submitted himselfe, God gave him power to spoyle the kingdome of the diuell; and to deliuer all that euer did or should beleue in his death and passion. And in this sort Christ bought vs with his precious blood from the daunger of sinne and hell; not offering, but suffering Satan by the hands of the Iewes to take his life from him; neither compounding with his aduersarie, but repressing him in the midst of his malice, who assaulting Christ Iesus our head, as he had done all the members was overthrowne by him, and vanquished with an everlasting victorie.

Mark. 14.

Mortuus est volens, ut inuoluntarie mortuos exuscitaret; Deuorauit ipsam mors ignorans, ubi deuorasset, cognouit quem non deuorauit. Deuorauit unum cum omnibus; perdidit omnes propter unum. Rapuit ut leo; confracti sunt dentes ipsius. Christ died willinglie (saith Basil) that hee might raise those which died against their wils. Death ignorantly deuoured him, which when hee had done, hee knewe whom he had not deuoured; Hee swallowed vp one as he did all; and for that one, hee lost all. Hee sealed on him as a Lion; but his teeth were therewith broken. The cred extant vnder the name of Rufinus;

Basil. oration, in fine epistolarum.

¶

° SACRA-

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• Symbolum
Ruffini como
Hieronymi. 4.

• *Sacramentum carnis suscepta hanc habet causam, ut divina fili-
ly dei virtus velut hamus quidam, habitu humana carnis obtrec-
tus principem mundi inuitare posset ad Agonem, cui ipse car-
nem suam velut escam tradens, hamo cum diuinitatis in-
trinfecus teneret insertus ex profusione immaculati sangui-
nis.* The mysterie of Christer taking flesh was to this end,
that the diuine power of the Sonne of GOD couered as a
hooke vnder the shewe of mans flesh, might prouoke the
Prince of this worlde to assault him; to WHOM (CHRIST)
DELIVERING HIS FLESH AS A BAITE helde fast
(the diuell) with the hooke of his diuinitie sticking in him,
through the shedding of his immaculate blood. P Condi-
torem omnium Satana manus traditum, quis vel desipiens
credat? sed tamen edoctus veritate quis nesciat; —
cum se pro nostra redemptione Dominus membrorum Satana
manibus tradidit, (quod) eiusdem Satana manum in se scire
permittit, ut unde ipse exterius occumberet; inde nos ex-
terius interiusque liberaret? That the maker of all was de-
liuered into the hande of Satan, who is so foolish as to be-
leeue? And yet who taught by the trueth is ignorant, that
when the Lorde for our redemption yelded himselfe into
their handes that were the members of Satan, hee suffered
the hande of Satan to rage agaynst him, that whence he out-
wardlie dyed (in body) thence he might both outwardlie and
inwardlie deliuer vs? And therefore hee concludeth, Cum
corpus eius ad passionem accipit; electos eius a iure sue potesta-
tis amittit. When (Satan) receyued the bodie (of Christ) to
crucifie it; hee lost the elect of Christ from subiection to his
power.

• Gregor. Mora-
lium lib. 3. ca. 11

• Ibidem.

• August. do
trinise li. 13
cap. 13.

Saint Austen shewing howe Christ conquered the Di-
uell first by iustice, and then by pouer, sayeth; Plo-
cuit Deo, ut propter erudendum hominem de Diaboli potestate,
non potentia Diabolus sed iustitia vinceretur. It pleased
God for the deliuering of man out of the Diuels power,
that the diuell should be conquered by iustice, and not by
might

by the death and bloud of Christ. 67

might. *Qua est igitur iustitia, qua victus est Diabolus? Qua* ^{ibidem.}
nisi iustitia Iesu Christi? Et quomodo victus est? Quia

cum in eo nihil morte dignum inuenit, occidit eum tamen: & utique iustum est, ut debitores quos tenebat, liberi dimittantur, in eum credentes, quem sine ullo debito occidit, Hoc est quod iustificari dicimur in sanguine Christi. What then is the iustice whereby the Diuell was conquered? What but the iustice of Iesu Christ? And howe? Because that when the Diuell founde in Christ nothing woorthie of death, hee killed him notwithstanding: and surelie iustice requirereth that the debtours, which Satan helde shoulde bee sette free, beleeuing in him whome Satan slue without any debt. This is it that wee are sayde to bee iustified in the bloud of Christ.

Sanguis enim ille quoniam eius erat qui nullum habuit omnino peccatum, ad remissionem nostrorum fusus est peccatorum; ut quia eos Diabolus merito tenebat, quos peccati reos conditione mortis obstrinxit, hos per eum merito dimitteret, quem nullius peccati reum immerito poena mortis affecit: hac iustitia victus, & hoc vinculo victus est fortis, ut vasa eius eriperentur. For that bloud because it was his, who was utterlie voyde of sinne, was shedde for the remission of our sinnes; that whom the Diuell iustlie held as guiltie of sinne, and obnoxious to death, those hee might woorthilie loose through him, whome hee wrongfullie slue beeing guiltie of no sinne: with this iustice the Diuell was conquered, and with this band was hee bound, that his goods might bee spoyled. And so Saint Austen concludeth in expresse wordes, **THAT THE BLOVD OF CHRIST, which the Diuell was permitted to shedde by the handes of the wicked, WAS GIVEN AS A PRICE IN OVR REDEMPTION, which when the Diuell had spilt, it was reckoned to him as a ransom for vs since Christ owed none for himself; & so were we dismissed out of his power.** *In hac redemptione tanquam pretium pro nobis datus est Christi sanguis, quo*

^{ibidem, cap. 15}

^{ibidem, cap. 15}

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accepto diabolus non ditatus, sed ligatus est, ut nos ab eius nexibus solueremur. In this redemption the blood of Christ was given as a ranfome for vs, which being receiued, the diuell was not enriched, but concluded, that wee might bee loosed from his snares.

° *Ambrōf lib. 9*
Epist. 77.

° *S. Ambrose affirmeth as much. Si redempti sumus non corruptibilibus argento, & auro, sed preciosa sanguine domini nostri Iesu Christi (quo utiq; vendente NISI E O qui nostrū iam peccatricis successionis are questum seruitium possiderat) Sine dubio IPSE flagitabat pretium ut seruitio exueret quos tenebat obstrictos. Pretiū autem nostra liberationis erat sanguis domini Iesu, quod necessario soluendum erat EI, C V I peccatis nostris venditi eramus.* If we bee redeemed not with corruptible things as filuer and golde, but with the precious blood of our Lorde Iesus Christ (who selling vs, B V T H E that possessed vs as his seruants by reason of our sinfull succession) doubtlesse euen H E required a ranfome to dismisse vs from the seruitude which he had ouer vs. Now the price of our deliuerance was the blood of the Lord Iesus, which (price) was necessarie to bee payde to H I M, T O W H O M we were sold through our sinnes. They which traduce this doctrine, as inclining to Manicheisme, had more neede of Elleborus to purge their baines, then of autho: it is to perswade their hearts. For since Christ paid no ranfome for himselfe, but for vs, and his innocent blood could not be shed but by the hands of the wicked, what touch of vntruth can it haue, that God accounted the blood of Christ to bee of more value then all the sonnes of men; and consequentlie, that, which the diuell eagerly thirsted, and wrongfullie shed, to be reputed as mans ranfome, and a price most sufficient for all the world? Hea the scripture, which is the word of truth, doth not onely teach vs, who redeemed vs, and with what price, as; * God bought his Church with his owne blood: but in manifest words from whom we were redeemed, euen from the power of * DARKNES, * DEATH and HELL; that being * deliuered out of the hands of our enemies, wee should serue God without feare in holines and righteousness all the daies of our life.

* Acts. 20.
* Colof. 1.

* Osee. 13.
* Luke 1.

Whether

by the death and bloud of Christ. 69

Whether therefore wee resemble the bodie and bloud of Christ to a **P R A Y** that brake the teeth of the deuourer; to a **B A I T E** that held fast the swallower; to a **P R I C E** that concluded the challenger; to a **R A N S O M E** that freed the prisoner; or to a **C O N Q U E S T** that overthrew the insulter; in effect it is all one: Satan by killing him, that was the authour of life, lost both him and all his members; the Lorde rising againe by his owne power, and raising them all, that could not be leuened from him, by the might and merite of his death and suffering. And so the godlie, which now liue on the earth, are not their ^b **O W N E**, but his that bought them with a price; being before ^c solde vnder sinne, whose ^d seruants they were till Christ with his bloud ^e redeemed them. **G O D**, and made them kinges and priestes to God his father. *Veni redemptor & dedit pretium, fudit sanguinem suum; emit orbem terrarum. Videte quid dederit, & inuenite quid emerit. Sanguis Christi pretium est, tantis quid valet? quid nisi totus orbis? quid nisi omnes gentes?* The redeemer came (saith Austen) and paid the price: hee shed his bloud, and purchased the worlde. Consider what he gaue, and marke what he bought. The bloud of Christ was ^y price: what was valued at so great a price? What but the whole world? what but al the nations of the earth? *Hic sanguis effusus omnem terrarum orbem abluuit, hic sanguis antea semper praesignabatur in sacrificijs, in iustorum cadubus. Hic orbis terrarum est pretium. Hoc Christus emit ecclesiam. Hoc eam omnem adornauit.* This bloud (saith Chrysostom) being shed washed the whole world. This bloud was euer before figured in the sacrifices, and martyrdomes of the righteous. This bloud is the price of the world; with this Christ bought his Church, with this he wholly adorned it. *Christus non esset condignum pretium totius creaturae redimende, neque sufficeret ad bene redimendam mundi vitam, etiamsi suam deponeret animam ut pretium pro nobis, ac etiam pretiosum sanguinem, nisi vere esset filius, & tanquam ex deo deus.* Christ had not beene a iust price (saith Cyril) to redeeme all creatures, nor sufficient to purchase the life of the

^b 1. Corinth. 6.

^c Rom 7.

^d Rom 6.

^e Reuelat. 5.

^f Aug. in

Psal. 95.

^g Chrysost. ad po-

pul. Antioch

homil. 61.

^h Cyril. dialog.

de trinitat. lib. 4.

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world, though he would haue laid down his life and his precious blood as a ranfome for vs, if he had not beene the true sonne of God, & as it were, God of God. *Where as nota* ⁱ *Unus dignitate vniuersos superans, pro omnibus mortuus est, & quaecumq; sub caelo sunt sanguine suo redemit, deoq; & patri vniuersa terra habitatores acquisiuit.* He alone exceeding al other in worth & valedied for al, & by his blood redeemed all things vnder heauen, & purchased to God his father the inhabitants of the whole earth.

¹ Cyril tom. 2.
ep: Ioh. 1.

¹ Matth. 20.

¹ Esay. 53.
Howe Christ
gaue his soule
a ranfome for
many.

² Matth. 20.

³ Iohn. 10.

⁴ Iohn. 13.

⁵ 1. Iohn. 3.

[But our sautor saith the son of man came ^k *dare animā suā redemptionem pro multis*, to giue his soule a ranfome for many. And Esay foretold as much, that he should ^l make his soule an offering for sin] It is no great matterie to cite places of scripture in shew repugnant one to the other; holobey in truth these are not contrarieties, but cōsequents to the former authorities. For where the soule of man is the life of his bodie; Christ could not die for our sinnes, but he must laie down his soule to death, that it might be separated from his bodie & so giue **HIS SOVLE**, that is, his **LIFE** a ranfome for many, & an offering for sin. And so the very translators, & other wise sautors this opinion of hel paines, do interpret those wordes: ^m The son of man came not to be serued but to serue, & to giue **HIS LIFE** a ranfome for many. And the like elsewhere: ⁿ *Bonus pastor dat animā pro ouibus*, The good shepheard giueth **HIS LIFE** for his sheep. ^o *Animā meā pono pro ouibus meis*; I lay down my **LIFE** for my sheep. ^p *Diligit me pater quia pono animā meā, ut iterū sumā eam.* My father loueth me because I lay downe my life to take it againe. And indeed that phrase **PONERE ANIMAM** in the scriptures doth alwaies note a voluntary yeelding of the life, which is a **LAYING ASIDE OF THE SOVLE**, for & lone of others; as where Peter saith, ^q *Ponam animam meā pro te*; he did not meane he would go to hel for his master, there was no cause nor neede thereof; but I will lay down **MY LIFE** for thee. And when S. Iohn telleth vs, ^r *Quoniam ille animā suā posuit pro nobis, & nos debemus animas ponere pro fratribus*; hee doth not charge vs to hazard our soules by sin or hel for others; but inasmuch as Christ gaue

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gaue His LIFE for vs, wee ought to GIVE OVR LIVES for our brethren. So that for Christ to LAY ASIDE HIS SOULE, OR TO PO VRE IT OVT VNTO DEATH; was not to suffer hell paines for our sakes, but to die for our sinnes; & al those places are rather coherent, the dissident to the rest of h^e scriptures, which I alleaged.

And yet because the ancient fathers some times saie that Christ gaue his soule for our soules, as hee did his flesh for our flesh, & the scriptures often affirme hee gaue himselfe; I will come to the third effect of Christs crosse, which is the MIGHTY POWER OF HIS DEATH; and there examine what part of Christ died for our sinnes, and howe by his death the guilt of sinne, the curse of the lawe, the sting of death, and the strength of Satan are not onelie weakened, and wasted, but ertinguisht and abolished, that they shal neuer preuaile against him or his elect.

The power of
Christs death.

That the Sonne of God loued vs & gaue h^e himselfe for vs, making the purgatio of our sinnes in his own person, by the sacrifice of himselfe to put away sinne; is a case so clere, that it need not to be prooued, much lesse may be doubted without apparant subuersion of the christian faith: but whether Christ suffered the death of the whole man, his soule tastig for the time an inward and spirituall death in satisfaction of our sinnes; as his flesh did an externall & corporall dissolution of nature, this by some men is questioned in our daies. That for our sakes he humbled himself, & was obedient vnto death euen the death of h^e crosse, is out of al doubt; the Euangelists describe the maner of his death, the apostles the cause; to wit the REDEMPTION of our sinns, the CONFIRMATION of the new testament, the RECONCILIATION of man to God, the DESTRUCTION of him that was ruler of death, & the IMITATION of his obedience, who suffered for vs leauing an exāple: y^e we should follow his steps. Al this he performed with h^e death of his flesh; the scriptures no where mentioning any other kinde of death, that I can read. Where a testament is, there must be the death of him that made the testament. For the testamēt is confirmed

Galat. 2

Hebre. 1

Hebre. 9

By Christs death the scriptures meane the death of his body.

1. Peter. 2.

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confirmed when men are dead: Christ is the mediator of the new Testament, that through death which was for the redemption of the trespasses in the former Testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternall inheritance. This plainelie expresseth the death of the bodie. For God forbid mens Testaments should be frustrate, till their soules haue tasted the second death: but from the death of the bodie all Testaments take their force. Wherefore the new testament is confirmed by the bodilie death of Christ, and there neede no paines of hell before it can be good. You y^e in times past were strangers and enemies in mind by euill works, hath he nowe reconciled in the body of his flesh through death to make you holie, vndefiled, and faultlesse before him. Paul thought it not enough to saie, Wee were reconciled vnto God by the death of his sonne; but that death, he addeth, was **IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH**, to exclude all supposals of the death of the soule; since **THE BLOVD OF CHRISTS CROSSE** did PACIFY thinges in earth and in heauen. For so much as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, hee also did therein partake with them, that through death hee might destroy him that had power of death euen the deuill. The death of the spirit maie bee without flesh and blood; as we see in the Demills who are dead in spirite. But Christ took flesh and blood, that by the death of his flesh hee might destroye the deuill, that insulted and raigned ouer the weakenesse of mans flesh. Wee are buried (with Christ) by baptism into his death; and if we bee grafted with him into the similitude of his death, we shalbe likewise into his resurrection: knowing this that our old man is crucified with him that the body of sinne might bee destroyed, that henceforth wee shoulde not serue sinne, for hee that is dead is freed from sinne. So manie wordes, so manie reasons to proue that Christ died not for the death of the soule, but onelie of the bodie. Wee are buried with him by Baptisme; his bodie not his soule was buried. Wee are grafted into the similitude of his death; not the soule but sinne dieth in

Colos. 1

Hebre. 2

Rom. 6

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vs, when we are grafted into Christ, for hee quickeneth our spirits. Our olde man was crucified with him; his soule was not crucified but his flesh: that the body of sinne might be destroyed; by the death of the soule the body of sinne is strengthened and encreased. That henceforth we should not serue sinne; they must needs serue sinne, whose soules are deade with sinne. He that is dead is freed from sinne; but he that is deade in spirit, is subiect to the force &urie of sinne. The death of Christ then is mentioned no where in the Scriptures, but the verie words & circumstances, doe cleerely confirme that they speake of the death which he suffered for vs on the crosse, IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH.

That Christ did or could suffer the death of the soule, is a position far from the words, but farther from the groundes of the sacred scriptures. For in God there is no death, and without God there is no life of the soule. So that it is neither possible for the soule ioyned with God to die, nor for the soule separated from God to liue. Then if Christs soule were at any time deade, it lost all consuntion and communion with God; and consequentlie the personall vnion of God and man in Christ was for that time dissolued, and the grace and presence of Gods spirit were vtterlie taken from him; and in during that space, there coulde bee in Christ neither obedience, humility, patience, holines nor loue, which are the fruits of Gods spirit; yea the soule of Christ, if it were but for an houre deprived of Gods grace and spirit, must needs for that time be subiect to all sinne and wickednesse; which the diuel himselfe dare not anouch of the soule of Christ. Men maie doe well therefore to beware how they venture vnadvisedlie to saie, that Christ suffered the death of the soule, for howsoeuer they may frame vnto themselves a new kind of death in the soule of Christ, as they thinke far from these absurdities and blasphemies; yet both scriptures & fathers mightilie contradict that lose, if not letwde assertion. ^a With thee is the fountaine of life, saith Dauid to God. Then if the soule of Christ

Christ could
not die the
death of the
soule.

^a Psal. 36:

L 1,

were

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were alwaies ioined with God, or so much as in Gods fauour, it must needs haue life; for ^b in (Gods) fauour there is life. ^c *See* the presence of Gods spirit giueth life. ^e *Spiritus est qui uiuificat*; it is the spirit y quickneth, saith our Sautour; and Paul setteth the same words. Where then THE SPIRIT OF GOD is, there is LIFE; and consequently the soule y is dead is depriued of Gods spirit. Now from whom the spirit of God is departed; in him must needs want al the fruits of Gods spirit; and so the soule, that is dead, is excluded from all godlinesse and vertue. For these are not onelie signes, but effectes of Gods spirit working in the soule of man. And since betwixen righteousness and vnrightheousnes there is no middle, the soule of man wanting light, truth, and sanctitie, of force must be filled with darkenes, error, & iniquity; which to surmise in the soule of Christ, is the bight of all impietie. ^d As manie as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sonnes of God. If Christs soule wanted at anie time the spirit of God he was not the sonne of God. If he euer and alwaies had the spirit of life dwelling in him, his soule coulde at no time be dead. For the ^e spirite is life through righteousness. But whie seeke we proofes that Christs soule could not die, since he himselfe is the AUTHOR AND GIVER OF LIFE? ^f I am the waie, the truth, and THE LIFE saith our Sautour. ^g He that beleueth in me hath euerlasting life. ^h I am the resurrection and the life: hee that beleueth in mee, though hee were dead, he shall liue. And hee that liueth, and beleueth in me, shal neuer die. If the soule of him that beleueth in Christ shal neuer die, how could Christ himselfe at anie time die in soule? ⁱ Christ is our life; howe then shall we be sure neuer to die, if the fountaine of our life in Christs person might for the time bee dxyed by with death. Shall we haue fuller or persister fruition of life then Christ Iesus our heade, who ^k giueth life to all his sheepe? but he had so plentifull, perpetuall, and personall possession of life, not onelie for himselfe, but for vs all, that the Apostle saith, the first Adam was made a liuing soule,

^b Psal. 30.

^c Iohn. 6.

^e 2. Corinth. 3.

^d Rom. 8.

^e Rom. 8.

^f Iohn. 14.

^g Iohn. 6.

^h Iohn. 11.

ⁱ Colof. 3.

^k Iohn. 10.

soule, the last *Adam* was made a ¹ quickening spirit; that is not only to haue life in himself, but to giue life to others. Could hee then at anie time be a deade soule, whome the holy ghost affirmeth to be made a **Q V I C K E N I N G S P I R I T**? could he giue that to others, which himselfe did lacke? or loose that which he once had? I know to giue life is proper to God, and for that cause the soule of Christ could not haue that power by creation, but by coniunction with his godhead; and in that respect was the receptacle whereby the life and grace of his diuine nature was deriued into his humane, with such abundance, and assurance, that of his ^m fulnes we al haue receaued; ^m Iohn. 1 ^a Iohn. 6 in somuch that the ⁿ words which he spake, were spirit and life; and the ⁿ flesh which he tooke, was the bread of life; yea the body of Christ dying did not only resist and repress the force of death; but rising againe destroyed death, & restored life to the world. If the temple of his bodie were stronger then death, what was the sanctuarie of his soule?

I with therfore all men, that professe themselves christians, to be soberlie minded; and with the learned and auncient fathers to acknowledge, that there is not mentioned in the scriptures anie death of the soule, besides **S I N N E**, & eternall **D A M N A T I O N**; neither of the which with anie moderation or mitigation can be attributed to Christ without shamefull blasphemie. ^o *Anima peccans ipsa morietur*. The soule that sinneth, that soule shall die. In these wordes are both deaths of the soule exprest; the first voluntarie when for the delights of sinne wee refuse the preceptes of God: the other necessarie, when God by his iustice withdraweth his presence from vs, and executeth his **V E N G E A N C E** on vs; that neuer shall haue end. That sinne is a death of the soule, cannot be denied. Let the ^p dead bury their dead, saith Christ ^p Matth. 8 to one of his disciples, follow thou me. Which must needs be meant of such as are liuing in body, & dead in soule, as Paule speaketh of wanton widowes, she which liueth in pleasure, is ^q dead whiles shee liueth. These the scripture calleth **D E A D** ^q 1. Timoth. 5

The death of the soule is either sinne, or damnation.

^o Ezech. 18

^p Matth. 8

^q 1. Timoth. 5

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¹ Ephes. 2.
¹ Coloss. 2.

¹ 1. Peter. 1.
² 1. Peter. 2.

IN SINNE. When we were ¹ dead by sinnes, God quickened vs together with Christ. And again, You, which ¹ were dead in sinnes, hath he quickened together with Christ, forgiving you all your trespasses. From this death I make no doubt but all christian men with heart and voice will cleerly discharge the ² VNSPOTTED and VNDEFILED Lambe of God, who did ² no sinne, neither was there any guile found in his mouth.

The other kinde of the death of the soule, which is damnation, must be farther from Christ then ever was sinne. For not onely Christs innocency should bee vnjustly condemned, which were altogether repugnant to Gods righteousness; but the sonne of God wronged, and mans saluation wholly subuerted. Nothing might befall the humane nature of Christ, which was unfitting for his diuine; both being joined in one person. And if our Saviour were condemned to hell; which way shall we thinke to scape the iust and fearefull iudgement of God for our manifold and grievous sinnes? he was indeed condemned by man, that gaue wrongfull sentence of death against him; but hee was acquitted of God. And because hee humbled himselfe to the death of the crosse, God highly ² exalted him, and gaue him a name aboue all names, as well in witnesse of his innocencie, as in reward of his humility. Yea the holie ghost, which evidently ² recordeth Christs assurance, confidence, and reioicing in God, as hee hung on the crosse, cleane excludeth all suspicion that he suffered the death of the soule. For the soule in this life can haue no fuller, nor faster coherence with God, then Christ had. And since God is the true life of the soule; the inseparable coniunction of Christs soule with God proueth a continuall perswasion, and fruition of eternal life, which by no meanes admitteth any danger or doubt, much lesse any sence or sufferance of the second death being the iust wages of sinne, whereby the wicked are euermore punished. ² Certe a-

² Aug. 1. c. 66.

anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum ceterarum naturam, sed

sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita est:
quibus duabus causis mors anima intelligi potest. Surely the soule
of Christ (saith Austen) was not only immortall in nature as the
rest; but was **NEITHER DEAD WITH ANY**
SIN, nor **PVNISHED WITH DAMNATION;**
which two wayes the death of the soule may be vnderstood. If
then neither transgression, nor damnation may be ascribed
to the soul of Christ, it is euident he suffered not the death of
the soule; yea to subiect the soule of Christ to either of these
two deaths, which onelie are the deaths of the soule, were
more horrible blasphemie, then I hope anie Christian man
meaneth to incurre.

[But I mistake the death of the soule.] I must con-
fesse I therein followe the sacred Scriptures, and ancient
fathers; other kinde of death of the soule I know none, be-
cause I reade none inslie proued. These two are manifest
in the scriptures. That sinne killeth the soule, besides ma-
nie other places before cited, Saint Paule shortly sheweth
in these words. ^a **SIN REVIVED, BUT I DIED:** for sinne
deceiued me, and slue me. And likewise our sauiour, except
you beleue, you shall ^b die in your sinnes. That euerlasting
death is the wages of sinne, I take it to be as cleare a case,
as the former. These shal go into ^c euerlasting punishment, saith
Christ to the wicked. They shall be ^d punished with euerla-
sting perdition, saith Paule of the ignorant and disobedient.
The smoke of their torments shal ascend ^e euermore, saith Iohn
in his Reuelation. The lake burning with fire and brimstone,
this is the second death. How the ancient fathers define the
death of the soule, is soon seen by their writings. *Dicam au-*
daacter fratres sed tamen verum. Due vite sunt; una corporis, al-
tera anima; sicut vita corporis anima, sic vita anima deus. Quo-
modo si anima deserat, moritur corpus; sic moritur anima si deserat
Deus. ³ I wil speake boldlie (saith Austen) but trulie. There are
two sortes of life, one of the bodie, another of the soule. As the
soule is the life of the body, so God is the life of the soule; & as if

The death of
the soule is a
separation fro
God.

^a Rom 7.

^b Iohn. 8.

^c Mat. 25.

^d 2 The. 1.

^e Reuel. 14.

^f Reuel. 20.

³ August. in
Psal. 70.

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the soule depart, the body dieth; so dieth the soule, if God forsake it.

^h Cyril. homil.
10. de exitu
anime.

^h *Mors proprie non est ea, qua animam à corpore, sed qua animam à Deo separat. Deus vita est, quia Deo separatur, mortuus est.* That is not properly death (saith Cyril) which seuereth the soule from the bodie, but that which seuereth the soule from God. God is life; and therefore hee that is separated from God, is dead.

ⁱ Ambros. de
bono mortis ca 9

ⁱ *Anima qua peccat moritur, non utique aliqua sui dissolutione, sed merito moritur Deo, quia uiuit peccato. Ergo qua non peccat, non moritur.* The soule which sinneth dieth, (saith Ambrose) not by anie dissolution of her substance, but worthilie dieth shee vnto God, because shee liueth vnto sinne. The soule then which sinneth not, dieth not.

^k Gregor. in
Ezech. homil. 17.

^k *Anima in corpore vita est carnis; Deus uero qui uiuificat omnia, vita est animarum.* ^l *Sicut mors exterior ab anima diuidit carnem, ita mors interior à Deo separat animam.*

^l Idem moralis
lib. 9. Cap. 38.

The soule in the bodie (saith Gregorie) is the life of the flesh, but God that quickeneth all things is the life of the soule; as the outward death diuideth the bodye from the soule, so the inward death diuideth the soule from God.

^m Bernard. serm.
paru. 3. Et aliis
ser. paru. num. 7

^m *Sicut anima vita est corporis, ita Deus vita est anima.* ⁿ *Mors anima separatio à Deo; mors corporis separatio anima à corpore.* As the soule is the life of the bodie, so God is the life of the soule, saith Bernard. The death of the soule is to be separated from God; the death of the bodie is the departure of the soule from the bodie.

^e Luc. 18.

Neither doe I see holue this definition of the death of the soule can be auoyded or amended. For can there be life from any other, but onelie from God? If it bee good, it must come from the fountaine of all goodnesse; and ⁿ none is good but onelie God. Then the soule which is partaker of God, is partaker of life; and to be seuered from God, is to be seuered from life which is the true description of death.

The fathers
mainely teach
that christ died
the death of y
flesh ONLY.

Rightly therefore do the auncient Fathers teach, that Christ dying for our sinnes, suffered ONLY THE DEATH OF THE BODIE, but not of the soule: and the scriptures where soeuer they mention the death of Christ, must haue the

by the death and blood of Christ. 79

the like construction. For the soule of Christ could not die, so long as it had the presence and assistance of Gods spirit; yea we leaue him neither faith nor hope, loue nor ioy, obedience nor patience, nor any other merites or vertues, if wee subiect him to the death of the soule; for these are the buds and fruits of life. From which if we cannot exclude the soule of Christ, no not for a moment, without sacrilegious impietie, it remaineth that Christ neither suffered nor tasted the death of the soule, but onelie the death of the bodie. In his bodie he bare our sinnes on the tree; and Preconciled vs vnto God, in the BODY OF HIS FLESH THROUGH DEATH, when we were straungers and enemyes in heart, by reason of our euill workes. *Quid est enim quod viuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro QVA SOLA FVERAT MORTIFICATVS viuificante spiritu resurrexit? Nam QVOD ANIMA FVERAT MORTIFICATVS IESVS, hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est, QVIS AVDEAT DICERE, cum mors anima non sit nisi peccatum, à quo ille omnino immunis fuit? Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundum SOLAM CARNEM mortuus est.* What is meant by this, that Christ was quickened in spirite, but that the same flesh, IN WHICH ONELIE HE DIED, rose againe: quickened by the spirite? For that Iesus was DEAD IN SPIRIT WHO DARE AVOWCH, I meane in his humane spirite, since as the death of the soule is nothing but sinne, from which hee was altogether free? And least wee shoulde thinke this slipte his penne, elsewhere hee largelie and learnedlie handleth the same matter. (Diabolus): *per impietatem MORTVVS EST IN SPIRITV, carne utique mortuus non est: nobis autem & impietatem persuasit, & per hanc vt in mortem carnis venire mereremur effecit. Quò ergo nos Mediator mortis transmissit, & ipse NON VENIT, hoc est ad MORTEM CARNIS: ibi nobis Dominus Deus noster medicinam emendationis infernit quam ille non meruit.* By sinne the Diuell DIED

° 1 Pet. 2.

° Colof. 1.

° August. epist. 99.

° Idem de trinitate, lib. 4 ca. 12.

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DIED IN SPIRIT; in flesh he died not : but to vs hee perswaded sinne, and thereby brought vs to deserue the death of the flesh. Whither then the mediator of death cast vs, and came not himselfe, that is to the death of the bodie ; euen there the Lord our God appointed a medicine to cure vs, which the Diuell neuer obtained. And noting the remedie prouided for vs in the bodilie death of Christ, he saith, *Vita mediator ostendens, quam non sit mors timenda, qua per humanam conditionem iam euadi non potest, sed potius impietas qua per fidem caueri potest occurrit nobis* AD FINEM QVO VENIMUS, sed NON QVA VENIMVS. Nos enim ad mortem per peccatum venimus, ille per iustitiam ; & ideo cum sit mors nostra poena peccati, mors illius facta est hostia pro peccato . The Mediatur of life (Christ Iesus) to shewe vs that death is not to bee feared, which by humane condition can nowe not bee escaped, but rather impietie, which by sayth may be auoyded ; mette vs in the ende whither wee were come, but not in the way by which we came . For we came by sinne to death ; but hee by righteousness : and so where our death is the punishment of sinne ; his death is the sacrifice for sinne . And therefore the death which Christ suffered in his bodie on the Crosse, did purge, abolish, and extinguish all our sinnes , whereby the power of satan iustly detained vs to abide the punishment of our transgressions. *Quia vinum spiritu mortuus spiritu non inuasit, quoquo modo auidus mortis humana conuertit se ad faciendam mortem quam potuit ;* & PERMISSVS EST IN ILLVD, QVOD EX NOBIS MORTALE VINVS mediator acceperat : Et vbi potuit aliquid facere, ibi omni ex parte denictus est, & vnde accepit exterius potestatem dominica carnis occidende, inde interior eius potestas, quam nos tenebat, occisa est . Factum est enim, vt vincula peccatorum multorum IN MVLTIS MORTIBVS PER VNIVS VNAM MORTEM, quam peccatum nullum precesserat, soluerentur . Ita Diabolus hominem in ipsa morte CARNIS amisit . Because (the Diuell) deade in spirite coulde not inuade (Christ) liuing in spirite ; as most desirous

to

[Ibidem]

[Ibidem cap. 13]

Cyrillus teacheth the same doctrine. *¶ Si intelligatur Deus incarnatus, & propria carne passus, parua est erga ipsum omnis creatura, & sufficit ad redemptionem mundi VNIUS CARNIS MORS.* If wee vnderstand (*Christ*) to bee God incarnate, and to haue suffered in his owne flesh; of small value in respect of him are all creatures, and sufficient to redeeme the worlde is the *DEATH OF HIS ONELY FLESH.* And likewise Gregorie.² *Nos quia mente a Deo recessimus, & carne ad puluerem redimus, pœna dupla mortis astringimur. Sed venit ad nos qui SOLA CARNE PRO NOBIS MORERETVR, ET SIMPLAM SVAM DV-*

* Idem de tem-
pore, Serm. 162.

7 Cyril. de recta
fide ad reginas
lib. 2.

¹ Greg. moral:
lib. 9. cap. 15.

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PLAE NOSTRAE iungeret & nos AB VTRAQUE MORTE liberaret. Because in heart wee were departed from God, and in flesh returning to dust, wee are tied to the punishment OF A DOVBLE DEATH. But (Christ) came vnto vs, which DIED IN THE FLESH ONLY FOR VS, and ioyning HIS ONE KINDE OF DEATH TO BOTH OVRS, DELIVERED VS FROM BOTH. And moze at large, the same father debating the same matter; *Umbra mortis mors carnis accipitur, quia sicut vera mors est, qua anima separatur à Deo, ita umbra mortis est, qua caro separatur ab anima. Quos enim constat NON SPIRITV SED SOLA CARNE MORI, nequaquam se vera morte, sed umbra mortis dicunt operiri. Quid est ergo quod beatus Iob postulat umbram mortis nisi quod ad delenda peccata ante Dei oculos, Dei & hominum Mediatorem requirit, qui SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CARNIS susciperet, & veram mortem delinquentium, per umbram suam mortis deleteret? Ad nos quippe venit qui IN MORTE SPIRITVS CARNISQUE TENERAMVR VNAM ad nos suam mortem detulit, & DVAS NOSTRAS, quas reperit soluit, SI ENIM IPSE VTRAMQUE SVSCIPERET NOS A NVLLA LIBERARET: sed VNAM misericorditer accepit, & IVSTE VTRAMQUE damnauit SIMPLAM SVAM DVPLAE NOSTRAE cōtulit & DVPLAM NOSTRAM MORIENS SVBEGIT. Qui ergo SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CARNIS SVSCEPIT umbram mortis pertulit, & a dei oculis culpam quam fecimus, abscondit.* The shadow of death is takē for the death of the bodie, for that as it is the true death, whereby the soule is separated from God; so it is but the shadow of death, whereby the bodie is separated from the soule. For they which assuredly die NOT THE DEATH OF THE SPIRIT, BUT ONLY OF THE FLESH, they doe not say they are couered with the true death, but with the shadow of death. To what end then doth blessed Iob aske for the shadow of death, but that to wipe away sinne out of Gods sight, hee seeketh for the Mediator of God & man, who should yndertake FOR VS THE DEATH OF

• Idem moralium
lib. 4. cap. 17.

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OF THE BODIE ONLY, and by the shadow of his death might extinguish the true death of sinners? Hee came to vs that WERE SVBJECT BOTH TO THE DEATH OF THE SPIRIT AND OF THE FLESH, and by HIS SINGLE DEATH HE LOOSED BOTH OVR DEATHS. If he should haue SVFFERED BOTH, HE COULD HAVE DELIVERED VS FROM NEITHER. But he mercifully VNDERTOOKE ONE OF THEM and iustlie CONDEMNED BOTH. He ioyned HIS SINGLE DEATH TO OVR DOVBLE DEATH, and dying CONQUERED BOTH OVR DEATHS. He then which for vs TOOKE VPON HIM ONLY THE DEATH OF THE BODY suffered the shadow of death, and hid from Gods eies, the sinne which we had committed. Bernard likewise. *Cum gemina morte secundum utramq; naturam homo damnatus fuisset, altera quidem spiritali & voluntaria, altera corporali & necessaria; vtriq; deus homo, VNA SVA CORPORALI ac voluntaria benigne & potenter occurrit, ILLAQVE SVA VNA NOSTRAM VTRAMQVE DAMNAVIT.* Where man was condemned vnto a double death, to witte, in either part of his nature; the one death spirituall and voluntarie, the other corporall and necessarie; God beeing made man did mightilie and mercifullie release both our Deathes, with his ONE CORPORALL and voluntarie Death, and with THAT ONE DEATH OF HIS DESTROYED BOTH OVRS. And so concludeth; *Dum sponte, & tantum in corpore moritur, & vitam nobis & iustitiam promeretur.* VVhiles Christ dyed willinglie and ONELY in his BODY he merited for vs both righteousnesse and life.

Bernard.
ad milis. scem-
pli. cap. II.

I hope to all men learned, or well aduised it will seeme no Jesuiticall phrensie, but rather christian & catholike doctrine, that the son of God dying for our sinnes, suffered NOT THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE, but ONLIE OF THE BODIE by the hands of the Iewes: and by the bodily & bloudie sacrifice of himself, did not only redeeme & cleanse both our soules & bodies, but destroyed sin & death, purging our transgressions by the merit of his obedience, & swallowing by death by power of his life

How Christ
gaue himselfe
wholly for vs.

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^b 1. Tim. 2

^c Heb. 4.

^d Bernard in
ramis palma-
rum. Serm. 3.

^e Irenaeus. lib. 5.
cap. 1.

And howsoever the scriptures sometimes affirme that hee gaue ^b himselfe a ranfome for all men, and the Fathers likewise teach, that hee gaue his flesh for our flesh, and his soule for our soules: yet neither Scriptures nor Fathers haue any meaning either to subiect Christ to the death of the soule, which assertion they abhorre as wicked; or to diminish the force or fruit of his bodily death, which they extoll as most sufficient; but to expresse that in the death of his flesh on the crosse his soule did suffer the sense of paine, and smart of death which parted the bodie and soule in sunder; and so toyntlie with the bodie, and seuer allie by it selfe, the soule of Christ had not onely temptations, afflictions and passions, but euen endured the naturall sting and sharpenesse of death, to which he submitted his soule, that he might haue the ^c feeling of our infirmities, and in all things bee tempted as wee are: but still without sinne. How Christ gaue himselfe wholly for vs, we maie learne out of Bernard. ^d *Sicut TOTVM HOMINEM saluum fecit, sic DE TOTO SE HOSTIAM fecit salutare; corpus exponens tantis supplicijs & iniurijs, animam vero gemina cuiusdam humanissima compassionis affectui, inde super maerore inconsolabili sanctarum feminarum, inde super desperatione & dispersione discipulorum. In his quatuor crux domine fuit.* As Christ saued the VVHOLE MAN, so of HIMSELFE WHOLIE hee made a wholesome sacrifice: yeelding his bodie to so great torments and wrongs, and his soule to the feeling of a double most tender compassion, on the one side for the vncomfortable grieue of the holie women; on the other side for the desperation and dispersion of his disciples. In these foure consisted the crosse of Christ. Since then the death of Christ did both affect and afflict his soule and his bodie; Iustlie might Irenaeus say, ^e The Lord bought vs with his owne blood, and gaue his soule for our soules, and his flesh for our flesh. For in dying hee layde downe his soule not onelie to sorow, grieue and paine, but euen to the bitter disioyce of death, that brake the communion of bodie and

and soule. ^f *Sicut TOTVS SEMETIPSV M tradidit, & TOTVS HOMO SEMETIPSV M OBTVLIT, ita totus homo ANI-* ^{1 Fulgentius ad Trasmundum lib. 3.}
MAM SVAM POSVIT, cū anima, in cruce moriente carne, dis-
cessit. As WHOLE Christ gaue HIM SELFE (saith Fulgen-
tius) and the WHOLE MAN OFFERED HIMSELFE, so the
whole man LAYD DOWNE HIS SOVLE, whē, the flesh dying
on the crosse, the soule departed. So that Chzist yēldeed his
soule for our soules to the susception of sorrow, prepeasion of
paine, and dissolution of nature; but vnto the death of the
soule he did neither offer, nor yēlde himselfe: since that is a
separation from God, and exclusion from grace, from which it
was vtterlie impossible the soule of Chzist could either wil-
lingly, or forceable for an houre be removed: yea where you
find the suffering of his soule witnessed, there shall you see
the DEATH OF HIS FLESH ONELIE to be aouched.

² *Quia TOTVM HOMINEM deus ille suscepit, ideo TOTIVS* ^{1 Fulgentius ad Trasmundum lib. 3.}
HOMINIS in se passionēs in veritate monstrauit, & animam qui-
dem rationalem habens, quicquid fuit infirmitatis anima sine
peccato suscepit & pertulit, vt dum humana anima passionēs, in
anima quam accepit vinceret, nostras quoque animas ab infirmi-
tatibus liberaret. Carnem quoque humanam accipiens, in eiusdem
veritate carnis, veritatem voluntariae habuit passionis, vt IN
CARNE MORTVVS TOTAM in se HOMINIS OCCI-
DERET MORTEM. Because (the sonne of God) tooke vnto
him the WHOLE NATVRE of man, therefore he shewed in
himselfe the sufferings OF THE VVHOLE MAN; and hauing
a reasonable soule, he tooke vpon him and endured all the infir-
mities of the soule, but without sinne; that whiles in the soule,
which he tooke, hee conquered the passions of mans soule, he
might free our soules also from infirmities. Taking likewise mans
flesh, in the truth of the same flesh he suffered a true and volun-
tarie passion, that DYING IN THE FLESH, hee might kill
in his person the WHOLE DEATH dew to man. Chzist en-
dured the passions of the whole man; hauing neither bodie
nor soule free from suffering; but yet he died ONLY in the

¶ 3. FLESH,

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FLESH, and thereby he killed the WHOLE DEATH inflicted on the body and soule of man.^h *Quis ignorat Christum IN SOLO CORPORE MORTVVM & sepultū?* Who is ignorat that Christ in BODY ONLY DIED, and was buried? And againe,ⁱ *Sicut in MORTE SOLIVS CARNIS immortalis fuit, sic in passionibus totius hominis impassibilis omnino permansit.* The godheade of Christ was immortall when ONELY HIS BODY DIED, and impassible, when the whole man suffered.^k *Moriente carne, non solum deitas sed NEC ANIMA CHRISTI POTEST OSTENDI COMMORTVA.* When Christs bodie died, not onelie his deitie, but his SOVLE CANNOT BE SHEWED TO HAVE BEEN PARTAKER OF DEATH. Wherefore I easilie admitte the wordes of Nazianzene to be true, that everie part in man is^l sanctified by the like in Christ, our condemned flesh by his flesh, our soule by his soule, our vnderstanding by his vnderstanding; yea I dislike not the wordes of Cyrill; ^m *Carnem suam in redemptionis pretium pro omnium carne dependit; & animam suam similiter pro omnium anima redemptionis pretium constituit, quamvis iterum renixerit, vita secundum naturam existens.* Christ yeelded his flesh, as a rancome for the flesh of all men, and made his soule likewise a price to redeeme the soules of all, though he were restored againe to life, as beeing life by nature: so long as we abuse not his wordes to maintaine our fantasies impugning his generall and settled doctrine; thatⁿ sufficient for the redēption of the world, is the DEATH OF HIS FLESH ONLY: nor thereby take occasion to defend that his bloud is not able to iustifie, or sanctifie the beleeuers.^o *Sanguine suo, hoc est SVAE CARNIS SANGVINE iustificat omnes in se credentes.* With his bloud, that is with THE BLOVD OF HIS FLESH he iustificeth all that beleecue in him. ^p *PSI NON ALIO MODO SALVANDVS ERAT mundus nisi in SANGVINE ET CORPORE morti UTILITER derelicto, quo pacto non necessarius verbo incarnationis modus ut iustificet in sanguine suo credētes in se, & conciliet patri per moriē sui corporis?* If the world MIGHT

NONE

^h Ibidem.

ⁱ Ibidem.

^k Ibidem.

^l Nazianzen, in
tract. 49. ad
Cledonium.

^m Cyril, de recta
fide ad Theodo-
sium.

ⁿ Cyril de recta
fide ad reginas
lib. 2.

^o Idem de recta
fide ad reginas
lib. 1.

^p Ibidem.

by the death and bloud of Christ. 87

NONE OTHER VVAY BE SAVED but by Christes leauing his BODIE AND BLOVD VNTO DEATH for our good, howe was not the taking of flesh necessarie for the sonne of God, that by his bloud hee might iustifie such as beleueed in him, and BY THE DEATH OF HIS BODIE reconcile them to God his father? ⁹ *Quomodo sanguis communis hominis nos sanctos efficeret? sed sanctificauit sanguis Christi. Deus igitur & non simpliciter homo; deus enim erat in carne, SVO SANGVINE nos purificans.* How could the bloud of a common man make vs holie? BUT THE BLOVD OF CHRIST DID SANCTIFIE vs. He was therefore God and not simplicie a man. For he was God in FLESH THAT CLENSED VS WITH HIS BLOVD.

When the ancient fathers affirme, that Christ died for vs THE DEATH OF THE BODY ONLY, and that the BLOVD OF HIS FLESH doth saue and sanctifie the beleeuers; we must not like chilozen imagine they speake of insensible flesh, as that in those wordes they exclude the vnion, operation or passion of the soule, whiles Christes bodie suffered and died: that were to make Christ a stocke, not a man, and to giue him carrion, and not humane flesh quickened and coupled with life and soule; but in the death of his bodie & shedding of his bloud, they include all those afflictions and passions of the soule, which naturally & necessarily follow paine: & accompany death. For these sufferings of Christs soule confirme his obedience, & witness his patience; only their intent is by all meanes to free Christ from THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE, and then to propose the death which hee suffered in the bodie of his flesh on the crosse, with all painefull, but no sinnefull concomitants and consequents, as the propitiation for our finnes, redemption of our soules, and reconciliation vnto God; by which all adversaries of our saluation the law, sinne, death and Satan are vtterlie conquered and abolished. And thus saue say they haue the scriptures expresselie concurring

The death of Christs flesh redeemeth as well soule as bodie.

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* 1. Iohn. 1

* Hebre. 9

* Reuelat. 5.

concurring with them. * The blood of Iesus Christ his sonne
clenseth vs from all sinne. It must clense then our soules, as
well as our bodie; for they are the chiefe agents in sin. Much
more shall the blood of Christ purge your consciences from
dead works. Conscience is a part of the soule; not of the bo-
die. * Thou hast redeemed vs to God by thy blood, saie the
saintes in heauen, whose bodie lie in the dust of the earth.
Redemption, remission of sinnes, iustification, sanctification,
and such like effectes of the blood of Christ are PRINCI-
PALLY AND PRIMARILY in the soule; and by consequent
in the bodie. And therefore there can be no question, but the
bodilie death of Christ is the redemption of our soules, as
well as of our bodie, in as much as the whole mā in Christ
died the death of the crosse, to redēme the whole man in vs;
both partes in him soynlie feeling; but with admirable pa-
tience enduring, the bitter and sharpe paines antecedent,
and annexed to the death of his bodie. * *Cum caro in doloribus*
est, & in pœnis, profecto anima tunc habet maximum agonem pa-
tientie. When the flesh is in anguish and paine, (saith Austen)
then the soule certainly hath the greatest triall of patience. For
the soule is so created and ordained that shee seeleth the plea-
sure and paine of her bodie; and howsoever the flesh bee sub-
jected to violence, the sence and grievance thereof is in the
soule, both in this life, and in the next.

The bodilie
death of christ
ouerthrew all
the enemies of
our saluation,

* Rom. 7.

* Ephes. 2.

* 2. Timoth. 3

As the bodilie death of Christ payeth the price of our re-
demption: so it remoueth all the impediments of our salua-
tion, which are manie and mightilie linked together. For by
the CORRUPTION of nature descending from our pa-
rents, and dwelling within vs, wee are * solde vnder sinne,
y fulfilling the will of the flesh, and louing * pleasures more then
God: whereby we neglect and breake the LAW of God, and
so incurre the CURSE pronounced against the transgres-
sours of the law; and by that obligation are liable to ETER-
NAL DEATH. This is the chaine of originall infection,
a Quall transgression, legall malediction, and eternal damnation,
which

by the death and blood of Christ. 89

which doth vs from God, and bindeth vs as prisoners and captiues to death, and hell. If then the DEATH of Christ suffered ^a IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH loosed euery linke of this chaine, and not onelie cleared vs from all these enemies and eractors, but reconciled vs to God, and made peace for vs ^b by the blood of his crosse; it is a wrong to the death & blood of Christ either to disable the as not sufficient to redeem vs; or to supplie them with anie better or other addition, which the holie ghost doth not mention. Examine these particularie, and see whether the power of Christs death doe not perfectlie dissolue them all. ^c Our oldeman is crucified with him, that the bodie of sinne might bee destroyed, that henceforth we should not serue sinne. Let not sinne raigne therefore in your mortall bodie, (saith the Apostle) that you should obey it in the lustes thereof. The force and strength of originall sinne and corruption in all the faithfull is crucified and dead with Christ, except they renew it by voluntarie obeying the lustes thereof. ^d For they which are Christs, haue crucified the flesh with the affections and lustes; by reason not onelie the guilt, but also the life and power of sinne died in Christs flesh, when it was crucified. So that ^e sinne nowe hath no dominion ouer them, because they are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. And likewise for actuell sinne, (by Christ) ^f we haue redemption, through his blood, that is the forgiveness of sinnes. For God hath ^g proposed him to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood by the forgiveness of the sinnes that are passed, through the patience of God. ^h The blood (therefore) of Christ Iesus his sonne cleanseth vs from all sinne, since he is the ⁱ mediator of the new Testament, (whose) death was for the redemption of the transgressions, that were in the former testament.

If the death of Christ on the crosse, and the shedding of his blood were the last and full redemption of all our sinnes, then apparentlie it eased and ended the curse which the lawe inflicted for sinne. For where he is ^k accursed, that continueth

¶ 1.

not ^l Galat 3.

^a Colos. 1.

^b Ibidem.

^c Rom. 6.

^d Galat. 5.

^e Rom. 6.

^f Ephes. 1.

Colos. 1.

^g Rom. 3.

^h 1. Iohn. 1.

ⁱ Hebre. 9.

The death of Christ on the crosse quen- cheth ^y curse of the law.

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not in al things written in the book OF THE LAW, to do the; the remitting of sinne, is the releasing of the curse that is consequent to sinne. The curse importeth vengeance due to sinne. When where sinne is pardoned the curse is determined. But wee haue redemption, even remission of sinnes through his blood. Ergo the blood of Christ doth quench the curse of the law. The maner, how the curse of the law lighted & sealed on the person of Christ, is thus exprest by S. Paule, ^m Christ redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, being made a curse for vs. For it is written, accursed is euery one that hangeth on the tree. As by his stripes we are healed: so by his curse we are blessed. In as much as he submitted himselfe to the curse of the law for our sinnes, not only our transgressions are pardoned, for which Christ suffered; but the law stinging him to death, lost his force for euer. For the vengeance of the law once executed on our suertie, can no more in Gods iustice be exacted of vs. But Christ receiued the sentence of the lawe in himselfe, when he bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree; wee therefore are quited for euer from the power of the lawe. Since then by his receiving and suffering the curse of the lawe in his owne person, wee are freed and blessed; it remaineth wee search howe farre the curse preuailed against him. Wherein we must take heede that wee slep not an hayres breadth from the Apostles words. For if we stretch the curse farther on Christ, then in truth it did, or coulde take place, wee arrogantlie and impiouslie pronounce that cursed, which indeede was blessed; and falsifie the promise of God, made to Abraham, that in his seede, which was Christ, ^a All the nations of the earth should be blessed. For howe coulde the blessing of Abraham be deriued from Christ to vs, if euerie part of his humane nature were accursed? Wherefore Christ must receiue the curse of the lawe in one part of himselfe, which was his flesh, and in the other which was his soule, retaine the blessing of God, as well for his flesh to bee raised againe, as for his members to bee vnited vnto him.

Ephes. 1

Galat. 3

Genes. 22

him. If this bee not the doctrine of the holie Ghost, I
beye no man to belene it; if it bee, let such as will wante
G O D S curse, beware howe they refuse it. It is no
small aduenture to extende the curse of God vpon the soule
of Christ Iesus, without clere, sound, and sure testimonie of
the holie scriptures.

To shew that Christ sustained the curse of the lawe; and
by his enduring it, acquitted vs; Saint Paul in effect blessh
this reason. ° C V R S E D saith Moses is euerie one that
is hanged on the tree. But Christ was content for our sinnes
to be hanged on the tree of the crosse. He therfore submitted
himselfe to the curse of the lawe to redeeme vs from it. That
this is Saint Pauls argument, the thirde to the Galathians,
to proue Christ vnder the curse of the lawe, I hope the sim-
plest amongst you, will soone perceiue, the learnedest dare
not denie. By which it is euident, that part of Christ which
hung on the crosse was subjected to the curse: but the soule
of Christ was not crucified: Ergo the soule of Christ
was not made a curse; but onelie his bodie. And by
suffering this curse, that is by hanging on the tree, hee re-
deemed vs from the curse of the lawe, which wee had deser-
ued both in bodie and soule. Which of these thinges canne
wee contradict? Shall wee saie the Apostle mist his marke,
in that hee cleareth vs from the spirituall and perpetuall
curse of the lawe, by Christs suffering a corporall and
temporall parte thereof? or shall wee challenge him to be so
simple that he knew not the difference betwixt the one & the
other? I am far from any such thought; I loue to follow and
not to leade the holie ghost. In matters of so great depth
I dare not waide, without, or before my guide. That
Christ died hanging on a tree, the 4 Euangelistes are plaine.
That hanging on a tree is a cursed kinde of death in the
lawe of Moses, is as manifest. That by hanging on the
tree hee was made a curse for vs, and thereby redeemed
vs from the curse of the lawe, the Apostle is resolute.

How Christ
was made a
curse for vs,
° Deuter. 21

7 Marth 27
Marke. 15
Luke 23.
Deutero, 21
Galat. 3.

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Christ was not
accursed in
soule,

If any man will offer farther, I must leave him. To fasten the internall or eternall curse of the lawe, on the soule of Christ, is to my understanding verie desperate diuinitie. For men might naille his bodie to the tree, as did the Jewes; but none could inflict the curse on his soule, but onelie God. Since then the innocencie, obedience, patience, humilitie, and sanctitie of his soule were so perfect euen in the sight of God, that it could not iustlie be but blessed, howe shoulde the righteousness of God immediatelite, and vniustlie laie the curse; which bringeth inwarde and euertlasting death, on the soule of Christ? Again, God spirituallie curseth none, but whome hee first deseruedlie hatech; as all vnleane and wicked persons. If then the soule of Christ could not worthilie be hated of God, it coulde not truelie be cursed of God; for the hatred and curse of God cannot bee seuered.

Auguſt. contra
Faustum Mani-
cheu. lib. 14. ca. 4

Christ was in
that part ac-
cursed in which
he died.

This doctrine is ancient and catholike. Saint Austen ripping this matter to the quicke, saith. *Securus Apostolus ait de Christo, factus est pro nobis maledictum, sicut uultis. Non ait dicere, pro omnibus mortuus est; hoc est enim mortuus, quod maledictus; quoniam mors ipsa ex maledicto est: & maledictum est omne peccatum, sine ipsum quod fit, ut sequatur supplicium, sine ipsum supplicium, quod alio modo vocatur peccatum, quia fit ex peccato. Suscepit autem Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum, ut inde solueret reatum nostrum: & finiret etiam supplicium nostrum.* Securely the Apostle saith of Christ that he was made a curse for vs, euen as he feared not to say; Christ DIED FOR ALL. For, HEE DIED, IS ALL ONE WITH HE WAS ACCVRSED, BECAUSE DEATH CAME FROM THE CURSE; and all sinne is accursed, as well that which is committed and deserueth punishment, as THE PUNISHMENT IT SELFE, which in a sort is called sinne, because it is consequent to sinne. Nowe Christ bare our punishment without any desert, that thereby hee might acquite our guiltinesse, and ende our punishment. And againe. *Maledictus*

dictus omnis qui pendet in ligno, non hic aut ille, sed omnis omnino. Etiamne & filius dei? etiam prorsus. DISPLICET VOBIS MALEDICTVS PRO NOBIS, QVIA DISPLICET MORTVVS PRO NOBIS. Tunc extra maledictum illius Adam, si extra illius mortem. Cum vero ex homine, & pro homine mortem suscepit, ex illo & pro illo etiam maledictum quod mortem comitatur suscipere non dedignatus est etiam ille, prorsus etiam ille filius Dei, semper viuus in sua iustitia, mortuus autem propter delicta nostra in carne suscepta ex pœna nostra. Sic & semper benedictus in sua iustitia, maledictus autem propter delicta nostra, in morte suscepta ex pœna nostra; ac per hoc additum est, OMNIS: ne Christus ad veram mortem non pertinere diceretur, si à maledicto, quod morti coniunctum est, insipienti honorificentia separaretur. Cursed is euerie one that hangeth on the wood: not this or that man, but euerie man without exception. What the sonne of God himselfe? yea in anie case. You (Marrichees) mislike Christ should be accursed for vs; because you beleeue not hee died for vs. Then is Christ without the curse of Adam, when he is without the death of Adam. But for so much as from man, and for man he did admit death; euen from man, and for man he vouchsafed to admit the curse, which accompanieth death; I meane euen that verie son of God, alwayes liuing in his owne righteousness, but dying for our sinnes in the flesh which he tooke from our punishment. So alwayes blessed in his owne righteousness, he was accursed for our sinnes in the death which hee suffered by reason of our punishment; and therefore the Scripture sayth, EVERIE ONE; least Christ should be thought not truly to haue died, if by an intent of foolish honour he should be excepted from the curse, which is vniuered vnto death. And answering Faustus obiection; if a king commaund anie Christian to worship the Sunne & Moone, or to be hanged on a tree; hee must either way of necessitie be accursed: Austen saith. "Christianns videt unum maledictum pertinere ad corpus mortale, quod ligno suspenditur; alterum ad animum, quod sol adoratur: sicut mors est corporis in

Ibid, in cap 6

Ibid, cap. 12

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ligno pendere, ita mors est animi solem adorare. Eligendum est igitur maledictum in corporis morte, quo maledicto & ipsum corpus in resurrectione liberabitur: deuitandum autem maledictum in animi morte, ne cum suo corpore in aeterno igne damnetur. Nolite timere maledictum corporalis mortis, quod temporaliter soluitur; sed timete maledictum mortis spiritualis, per quod anima in aeternum cum suo corpore cruciatur.

A Christian perceiue the one curse to belong to the mortall bodie, that hangeth on the woodde; the other whereby the Sonne is worshipped, to pertaine to the soule. Hee must therefore choose the curse of the corporall death, from which curse euen his verie bodie shall be deliuered in the resurrection; and shunne the curse of the spirituall death, least together with the bodie the soule bee damned in euermlasting fire. Feare not the curse of the corporall death, which is dissolued with time; but feare the curse of the spirituall death, by which the soule is euermlastingly tormented with her bodie. This doctrine is so sounde, it cannot bee confuted; and so cleare, it neede not bee explained. The temporall death of the bodie came first from sinne, as a part of the curse and punishment of sinne; and so to this date doth it continue. Christ therefore in that hee yeilded his bodie to die on the Crosse, subjected himselfe to the curse of our sinne, and by suffering a part of the curse, abolished the whole: but the curse of the soule, which is the spirituall death, Christ could not taste; because that damnable bodie and soule for euer.

* Chrysost. in
cap. 3. epist. ad
Galatas.

The kinde of
Christs death
was accursed,
& so the force
of the lawe
dissolued.

The rest of the ancient fathers tread the same path. The people (saith Chrysostome) were subiect to the curse, which saith, accursed is every one y abideth not in those things which are written in the booke of the law. For none of them had continued therein, neither had any man fulfilled the whole lawe; but Christ exchanged the curse with another, which saith, accursed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree. Where then he that hangeth on the tree is accursed, and he that transgresseth the law is likewise

likewise accursed, he that shall dissolue this curse, must not bee subiect to the same; but must admit an other in steede of that; which Christ did, and so by the one loosed the other. The crosse therefore tooke away the curse. Can we with plainer words, then that Christ by suffering the CURSE OF SUSPENSION on the crosse, toke away THE CURSE OF TRANSGRESSION, to which the people were subiect? *Theodorete:*

² When all were subiect to the curse of the lawe, Christ suffered that kinde of death, which is accursed in the lawe, that hee might deliuer all men from the curse. *Cyrl.* ^a *Factus est pro nobis maledictum, crucem ferens & pendens in ligno ut soluat peccatum mundi.* Christ was made a curse for vs; when hee endured the Crosse, and hung on the tree, that hee might release the sinne of the worlde. *Ambrose.* ^b *Quare maledictum dicatur Apostolus te docet dicens, quia scriptum est: maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno. Hoc est qui in carne sua nostram carnem, in suo corpore nostras infirmitates, & nostra maledicta suscepit, ut cruci figeret.* Why Christ is called a curse, the Apostle teacheth thee, when hee sayth, because it is written; accursed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree, that is, which in his flesh bare our flesh, AND IN HIS BODIE TOOKE OVR INFIRMITIES, AND OVR CURSES, that he might fasten them to his Crosse. *Hierom.* ^c It ought to trouble no man that Christ was made a curse for vs; because God, who is saide to make him a curse, did also make him sinne for vs; though he knew no sinne; yea, being life he died, and being the wisdom of God, he is called foolishnes; but he died, that we might liue; he was made foolishnes that we should be made wisdom; hee hung on the tree, that being fastened to the tree, hee might wipe out the sin; which we had committed in y^e tree of the knowledge of good and euil. *Oecumenius.* ^d We were vnder the curse, because wee had not kept the lawe; Christ was free from that because he had fulfilled the law; and yet hee suffered a curse not due to him, when he was hanged on the tree, that he might dissolue the curse pronounced against vs.

¹ *Ibidem.*

^a *Theodorete. in cap. 3. epist. ad Galas.*

² *Cyrl. de reſtaſide ad reginas. lib. 1.*

^b *Ambros. epist. lib. 5. oration. in Auxentium de basilicis tradendis.*

^c *Hierom. in cap. 3. epist. ad Galas.*

^d *Oecumenius in cap. 3. epist. ad Galatas.*

Other.

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^a Cyril. defens.
in Anathemasif-
mum primum.

Other expositions if anie man seeke, hee shall find euen in the learned and ancient wryters. ^c *Non maledictum, vel peccatum factum, est (verbum) sed cum iniquis reputatus est iustus existens, ut aboleat peccatum: & appellatus est maledictus, qui benedixit creaturam, ut soluat nostrum maledictum, & liberet à pœnâ credentes in ipsum. Igitur non est factus secundum veritatem maledictum & peccatum, appellatus autem illorum nominibus, ut aboleat maledictum & peccatum.* Christ was not made indeede a curse, or sinne (sayth Cyril) but hee was reputed amongst the wicked, beeing iust, that hee might put awaie sinne; and he who did blesse the creature, was called a curse, that he might dissolue our curse, and free from vengeance such as beleeued in him. Therefore he was not in truth made a curse and sin; but he was called by those names, that he might abolish both the curse and sinne. Christ was no more a curse, then hee was sinne; who indeede, and with God was neither; but with men he was reputed both wicked and accursed, by reason God suffered him to endure that vilde and shamefull kinde of death, which hee did to saue vs from the curse of sinne. Epiphanius saith he was **A CVRSE VNTO THE CVRSE**, that is, a dissoluer and finisher of the curse.

^f Epiphanius
contra Marcion
p. 142. h. 42.

^f *Ignorat omnino miser ille, quod neq, Christus maledictio factus sit; absit: sed maledictionem, qua propter peccata nostra fuit, abstulit seipsum cruci dedens; & factus est mors morti propter peccata nostra, & MALEDICTIO MALEDICTIONI. Quapropter non est Christus maledictum, sed maledicti solutio; benedictio autem omnibus verè in ipsum credentibus.* That wretch (Marcion) is vterly ignorant, that Christ was not accursed; God forbid: but he tooke away the curse that lay on our sinnes, in yeelding himselfe to the crosse, and was made death vnto death for our sinnes, and **A CVRSE VNTO THE CVRSE**. Wherefore Christ was **NOT A CVRSE**; but **THE DISSOLVER OF THE CVRSE**, and **A BLESSING** to all that truly beleeu in him.

These, though they diuerſe applye the Apostles speech,
Factus

by the death and bloud of Christ. 57

Factus pro nobis maledictum; Christ was made a curse for vs, some to the toleration of death, some to the opinion of men, and some to the depulsi^on of the curse from vs; yet in this they all agree, that by giuing his bodie to die on the Crosse, Christ receiued, sustained, and abolished the curse due to vs for transgressing the law of God. And to iustifie their assertion they haue not onelie the plaine text of s Paule and s Moses, Cursed is he that hangeth on the tree; but the manifest wordes of Peter, ^h He bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree. To proue the death which Christ suffered to be a cursed kinde of death, the place of Moses is verie pregnant; to proue the person to bee accursed in soule, it hath neither cause, nor truth. For innocents maie suffer that wrong to bee hanged on trees; and shall they then be accursed in soule? And be they malefactors, they may repent as did the theefe on the crosse; and shall they notwithstanding their repentance bee accursed? Shall we close both penitent and innocent within the true curse of the soule, rather then we will suffer Pauls words to be referred to the death of the bodie? For he saith, Cursed is [†]EVERIE ONE that hangeth on the tree; excusing none; and if ante might bee excepted out of the generall rule, Christ Jesus most of all. But euerie one that hangeth on the tree, hath a cursed kinde of death, though a blessed soule. Paule therefore expresselie teacheth, that Christ subiected himselfe to a cursed kind of death; and in so dying, he deliuered vs from the curse of the Lawe. ⁱ *Ex parte quippe mortali pependit in ligno, mortalitas autem unde fit, notum est credentibus. Ex poena quippe est, & maledictio peccati primi hominis, quam Dominus suscepit, & peccata nostra pertulit in corpore suo super lignum.* That part (sayth Augusten) which was mortall (in Christ) hung on the Crosse; and whence mortali^{ti}e came the saythfull knowe. It came from the punishment of sinne, and is the maledicti^on of the sinne of the first man; which the Lorde tooke vnto him and bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree. [¶]Yea when

These three wayes Christ is laid to be accursed for vs.

^s Galat. 3.

^s Deut. 21.

^h 1. Peter, 2.

ⁱ August. in exposition. epist. ad Galat.

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Christ tooke the curse, hee tooke the sinne of the olde man into his flesh, and fastened it together with his flesh vnto the Crosse. ^k *Quid pendit in ligno, nisi peccatum veteris hominis, quod Dominus pro nobis in ipsa carnis mortalitate suscepit? Vnde nec erubuit nec timuit Apostolus dicere, peccatum eum fecisse pro nobis; addens vt de peccato condemnaret peccatum. Non enim & vetus homo noster simul crucifigeretur, sicut Apostolus alibi dicit, nisi in illa morte Domini, peccati nostri figura penderet.* What hung on the tree but the sinne of the olde man, which (sinne) the Lorde tooke vpon him for vs in the verie mortalitie of his flesh? Wherefore the Apostle was neither ashamed, nor afraied to say, that (God) made him sinne for vs, that by sinne he might condemne sin. For our olde man could not be crucified together with Christ, as the Apostle else where writeth, except the figure of our sinne did hang on the Crosse in that death which the Lord died. And if Peters words be true, (which can not be false) Christ bare our finnes, that is, the malediction and punishment of our finnes, in his body on the tree, and thereby saved vs from the eternall malediction, which is, Go you cursed into euerlasting fire.

My resolution then is, which I hope will be receyued, because it is the Apostles; ^lWE ARE DEAD TO THE LAW BY THE BODIE OF CHRIST, that we should be to another, euen to him that is raised from the dead. We are quit from the feare, from the yoke, from the curse, from the vengeance of the law; in one word, WE ARE DEAD to the lawe; which hath no more chalenge to vs now, then a man hath to his wife that is long since dead. And if you aske when, and how we became dead to the lawe, Saint Paul answereth, BY THE BODIE OF CHRIST, when hee suffered on the Crosse for our finnes. And as ^m he that is dead is freed from sinne; so we dying in, and with the bodie of Christ, are ⁿ LOOSED FROM THE LAW OF SINNE, AND DEATH; Sinne being condemned, and death conquered

^a Ibidem

^l Rom. 7.
We are dead
to the law in
the bodie of
Christ.

^m Rom. 6.

ⁿ Rom. 8.

by the death and bloud of Christ. 99

red in the flesh of Christ, WHICH IS OUR FLESH, not onelie because it was taken of vs, but also for that it is vnited vnto vs, as the heade to the members; and communicateth with vs both in life and death, as appeareth by that we died and rose againe in him; and to this daie he suffereth in vs, then which no consolation can be surer, or neerer. Since then the corruption of our flesh, the guilt of our siane, the curse of the lawe, the sting of death were all closed and crucified in the bodie of Christ on the Crosse, and his death hath discharged vs from their dominion; insliketh doth the Apostle saie of Christ, that hee did ^o partake with flesh, and bloud, that through death hee might destroy him that had power of death, euen the diuell. For in that wee be freed from the curse of the lawe, which brought and bound sinners by death to hell: the chaynes of darkenesse are broken, and Satans force wholie frustrate; and he himselfe now left to beholde the ruine of his kingdome, to grieue at the spoyle of his goodes, and to feare the vengeance prouided for him, howsoeuer for a season hee bee suffered to pursue the members of Christ here on earth, to his owne shame, and their greater comfort, in trying the mightie power and steadfast fauour of God for their perpetuall defence, and eternall recompence. So that in all thinges we are more then conquerours through him that loued vs, and gaue himselfe for vs, who will tread downe Satan vnder our feete, that God may bee all in all. **W**erie mightie then is the power of Christs death, by whose BLOOD the Saintes ^o OVERCOME the greate Dragon, that olde Serpent called the Diuell; and his overthrow proueth all the enemies of mans saluation to bee vanquished, and impediments remooued; since he was the first perswader and procurer, and is the Prince and ruler of them all.

We haue seene the power of Christs death in subduing sin and Satan, as likewise in ending & abolishing the curse

^oHebr.2.

¹Rom.8.

⁹Galat.2.

¹Rom.16.

¹1.Cor.15.

¹Reuel.12.

The bodilie
death of christ
doth more

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expresse Gods
mercies and
Christs merits,
then if the
paines of hell
were ioyned
with it.

of the lawe, which obliged man for his uncleannesse and un-
righteousnesse to everlasting condemnation; and find that
hee, which bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree, did in that
mortall part which hee tooke of vs, crucifie as well the
flesh, and sinne of man, as the curse and death, that raig-
ned ouer man: and so much hee performed in the bodie of
his flesh through death, by which hee reconciled vs vnto
God, to make vs holie and blamelesse in his sight: let vs
nolue see whether the death of the spirite, and the curse
of the soule will anie thing helpe the woozke of our re-
demption, or whether the death of Christs bodie, doe
not more fullie demonstrate the mercies of God, and me-
rits of Christ, then if the paines of hell had beene ioyned
with it. And where some men thinke it woulde much com-
mende the TRUTH, POWVER, and IUSTICE of God,
and more ample declare the OBEDIENCE, PATIENCE,
and LOVE of Christ, if hee refused not the verie tor-
ments of hell for our sakes, shunning no part of the bur-
then that pressed vs, I must confesse I am rather of a con-
trarie minde; that the bodilie death of Christ on the crosse
doth more plainlie expresse the vertues of God, and Christ
his sonne, then if the terror and horroz of hell were there,
with coupled.

1

Gen. 2.

As namely the
truth of God

2

The power
God.

And first for the TRUTH of god, his threatening Adam in this
wise, "Thou shalt die the death, or thou shalt certainly die,
was truelli performed in the bodie of Christ; in the soule of
Christ it could not without sinne or damnation; neither of
which with anie truth can be ascribed vnto Christ. That the
mouth of God lied, or the soule of Christ died, is a chosse so
hard, that I wissh all men that haue anie care of Christian
religion to refraine either. Pert, touching the POWVER of
God; the weaker the instrument which God vseth to over-
throwe his enemies, the greater is both his glory and their
shame. Then, for flesh which was the feeblest part of Christ,
after it was deade, and voide of all hope in shew, to rise a-
gain

gaine into a blessed and heauenly life, and to soile both death and Satan by recovering it selfe into the full possession, and all his members into the joyfull expectation of everlasting gloire, was farre a mightier conquest, then for his soule with much adoe at length to escape, and resist the assaults of hell. From the depth of hell here on earth manie sinfull soules haue by grace struggeled, and cleared themselves; from the grane neuer rose none into an immortal, & incorruptible life, before the flesh of Christ. Deeper in desperation, and al other temptations of hel haue others been, that yet were saued, then anie man dare affirme of Christ: deeper in death without corruption, then the bodie of Christ, neuer with, nor ever shall be ante of the sonnes of men. It was therefore an harder thing for the bodie of Christ, past all sense, to rise from death, to immortalitie, then for his soule boide of sinne, and full of grace to repell the force of Satan; and yet to repell it, sheweth greater power then to suffer it; to conquere it, sheweth greatest of all.

[But to beare the burden of Gods wrath due to our sinnes, and to free vs from it, needed greater strength, (they will say) then Christs flesh could haue.] To support and auert Gods iust indignation from vs, the humane bodie of soule of Christ of themselves were not able; but the DIGNITY and VNTITY of his person must be placed in the gap to quench the flame of Gods iust vengeance against our sinnes, which was cherishing destruction both of bodie and soule; yet for so much as the sincerity and sanctitie of Christs soule, personallie ioyned, quickened, and blessed with the perpetual vnion, communion, and fruition of his deitie, could feele no want of grace, no lacke of spirit, no losse of fauour with God (in which thinges consist the inwarde death, and curse of the soule.) the wrath of God was executed on the flesh of his sonne, which hee toke of purpose from Adam, that therein he might beare the sinne, and curse of Adam; and so by his death might satisfie the sentence, and pacifie the displeasure of

To auert Gods wrath from vs, the dignity of Christs person was necessary.

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God against our vnrightheousnesse.

^{3.}
The iustice of
God.

1. Pet. 3

Matth. 27

Actes. 3.

The death of
Christs soule
could neither
proceed from
God, nor be
acceptable vn-
to God,

And this is more agreeable to Gods iustice, then if Christs soule had suffered the death and curse of the soule. For to take life from the soule, must be Gods proper and peculiar action. No creature can giue the grace or spirit of God to the soule of man, which is the life of the soule, but onelie God. Therefore no creature can take it from the soule, but God alone that GIVETH it, must TAKE IT AVVAY. Since then Christ might suffer nothing iustlie, but as the ¹ iust for the vniust, that is willinglie, but vnustlie; his death must come by the handes of the wicked, who might wrongfullie take his life from him, but not touch his soule; and not by the immediate hande of GOD, who will doe no wrong, and can kill the soule. ² I haue sinned, saith Iudas, in betraying the INNOCENT blood. ³ You denied the HOLIE AND IUST, and killed the Lorde of life, saith Peter to the Iewes, warning them howe great a sinne they had committed in putting Christ to death. If hee were an INNOCENT, and deserued no punishment; if hee were HOLIE and IUST, and could not bee persecuted or put to death without haynous impietie and iniurie, wee may doe well to remember that the death of his soule had beene a farre greater wrong, then the death of his bodie was. And therefore if the iustice of God would not farther interpose it selfe in killing his bodie, then by deliuering him into the handes of the wicked, permitting them to shed his blood, which hee woulde accept for the sinnes of the worlde; much lesse woulde God with his owne mouth accurse; or with his owne hande slea the soule of his sonne, whome hee sent to restore and quicken those that were accursed, and dead in their sinnes. Againe, corporallie or temporallie God punisheth ore for anothers fault, because he can recompence them eternally, that thereby repent and turne from their sinnes; but eternally or spiri- tually he punisheth no man, but for his owne vncleannes, ei- ther naturally sticking in him, or voluntarily committed by him.

him. Christ then being free from all sinne, might not suffer the inward or euermlasting death of the soule, but corporall and temporall reproch, and paine, which God might and did recompence with eternall ioye, and glorie. Christe that soule which sinneth, that soule shall die. This is the settled rule of Gods iustice; and therefore Christs soule which sinned not, could by no iustice die the death of the soule. To laie down his life for vs was loue and thanks with God: but willinglie to separate himselfe from God for vs, was no waie to reconcile God to vs, or to bring vs to God. He must therefore cleaue fast to God in soule, whose death shall be pretious in Gods sight, as was Christs. If the soule bee seuered from God, the death of the bodie is detestable in his eyes, as being the wages of sinne; and therefore no more acceptable to God then sinne it selfe, but where the soule, hating the infection of sinne, and loathing the infirmittie of the flesh, resigneth it vnto death for Gods glorie, and the good of others. And in this respect the death of the bodie may bee a sacrifice vnto God, but not except the soule doe liue, and cleaue to God, without separation. Then hatefull to God was the death of Christ, if his soule were first hated or accursed; if that were beloued and blessed of God, it coulde not choose but liue; for God is not the ^b God of the deade, but of the liuing. So that the death of Christs bodie on the Crosse, was by no iustice an acceptable sacrifice vnto God, if his soule were first deade. But his death was so precious in Gods sight, that in ^c the bodie of his flesh through death, he reconciled vs vnto God: his soule was therefore aloue and in fauour with God, yea so abundantly blessed, and highly accepted, for the holines, humilitie, and obedience thereof, that God was pacified, and pleased, and we all sanctified with THE OBLATION OF THE BODY of Iesus on the altar of the crosse.

Lastlie, the flesh of Christ by Gods iustice must bee as able to purge vs from sinne, as Adams was to poyson vs.

^a Ezechiel. 18

^b Matth. 22.

^c Coloss.

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Christes flesh
must be as a-
ble to quicken
vs, as Adams
flesh was to
kill vs.

^d 1. Corin. 15

^e Rom. 5.

^f Philip. 2
Rom. 3. verse
25, & ^h 24.

ⁱ Psal. 51.

^k Job. 14.

^l Ephes. 1.

^m Ephes. 4

ⁿ Rom. 7.

^o Rom. 7

^p Galat. 5

^q Rom. 8

Phrygion.

^r Rom. 1

^s Rom. 7

^t Rom. 6

vs with sinne. But the flesh of Adam infected all his posteritie with sinne, and death; ergo the flesh of Christ must haue as much force, to cleanse and quicken the faithfull both in this life, and the next. Of this iustice Paul speaketh, when he saith, since by man came death, by man must come the resurrection of the dead: For as in *Adam* all die, euen so in Christ shal al be made aliue. The first Adam WAS THE FIGURE of the second Adam, that where ^e sinne abounded, there grace might abound much more. ^e As then by one mans disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many bee made righteous. The obedience of Christ which here Paule mentioneth, is his ^f obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the croise; and the ^g righteousness of the faithfull is the forgiveness of their sinnes, ^h through the redemption that is in Christ Iesus. I wil not here dispute whether the soule be created, and infused; or else trauced from Adam, as well as the flesh: I meane not with curious or superfluous questions to buse mens heades; that which the scriptures deliuer touching the deriuation of sinne and death from our first parents, I may safely teach, and you must necessarily beleue. That we were ⁱ fashioned in iniquitie, and conceived in sinne, the words of Dauid doe exactly witness, and no maruaile. For ^k who can make that to bee cleane, which commeth from the vncleane? yea sinne cleaueth so fast vnto our flesh, that when the ^l cies of our heart are lightened, and the ^m spirit of our minde is renewed, so that the ⁿ inwarde man delighteth in the law of God; EVEN THEN haue we an ^o other law in our members rebelling against the lawe of our minde, and leading vs captiue vnto the lawe of sinne; the ^p one so contrarie to the other, that we cannot doe the things which we would; by reason the affection or ^q liking of the flesh cannot be subiect to the lawe of God. This fight betwixt the flesh and the spirit is so durable, that it cannot bee dissolved but onely by death. Though ^r Christ bee in vs, and the spirit liue for righteousness sake; yet ^s sinne so dwelleth in vs, (that is) in our mortall bodies,

by the death and bloud of Christ. 105

dies, that whilst we liue, " in minde we serue the law of God, " Rom. 7.
 but in our flesh the law of sinne. From Adams flesh wee de-
 rive this infection of sinne, that sticketh so fast vnto vs after
 we are regenerate, and new borne againe of water and the
 holie ghost, and this is the roote and nurse of all sinne, and the
 cause of death to al men. * If Christ be in you, the bodie is dead " Rom. 8.
 because of sinne. From Christs flesh then we must receiue
 the purgation of sinne both inherent in vs, and committed by
 vs; or else Adams flesh is stronger to wound vs, then Christs
 is to heale vs; which is repugnant to the iustice of God; by
 which the grace of God must bee farre mightier vnto saluation
 in the bodie of Christ, then the force of sinne was vnto con-
 demnation in the bodie of Adam; vntill wee make sinne of
 more power to kill, then God is to quicken; which is to ex-
 alt the diuell aboue God, and his sonne. For " 2. Corinth. 5.
 Christ, reconciling the worlde to himselfe; by whose bloud the
 " Ephes. 2.
 partition wal is broken down, and hatred abrogated through
 his flesh; that wee might bee reconciled vnto God in one bodie
 by his crosse.

[But the death of the bodie, they will saie, hath no propor-
 tion to the death of the soule; and therefore the one cannot in
 iustice excuse the other.] There is farre greater distance be-
 twixt the sonne of God, and the sonnes of men, then betwixt
 the bodie and soules of men. These differ as creatures, and
 both inferior vnto the angels; but there is the excellencie
 of the Creator aboue the creature, which is simple infinite.
 What soeuer therefore it pleased the sonne of God to suffer
 for our sakes, it was most sufficient for our redemption;
 howbeit to demonstrate his loue, hee would be partaker of
 our infirmitie and mortality; least we should loath our condi-
 tion, or grudge at the chastisement of our sinnes; but if we set
 aside the dignitie and vnicie of his person, then is no waie the
 death of the soule or the paines of hell, which they imagine
 Christ suffered, proportionable in exact iustice to the true wa-
 ges of our sinne. For what equiualence hath one soule with

why the death
 of Christs bo-
 dy dorth coun-
 teruaile all the
 bodie & soules
 of men.

all the soules of the Saints? or one daies anguish which Christ felt in soule, as they suppose, with that euermlasting fire which wee shoulde haue suffered in bodie and soule for ever? set aside I saie the respect of the person, which suffered for vs; and in the rest they shall neuer bee able to pzooue antie pzoportion of iustice diuine or humane. But as I haue fullie shewed before, the worthinesse of the person is the surest ground of our saluation, and chiefest weight of our redemption; and therefore his death is of infinite force, and his bloude of infinite price, euen as his person is. For since all mens actions are and ought to bee esteemed according to the gites which they haue, and place which they holde from GOD; whie shoulde not the death and bloud of Christ bee valued in Gods iustice according to the height and worth of his person? and if in all thinges wee receaue honour not due to our fleshe wherein wee partake with Beastes, but fitte for the soule wherein wee communicate with Angels; howe seemeth it strange in our eyes, that the dooinges and sufferinges of Christ Iesus, which hath the natures of God and man in a surer and nearer coniunction, then wee haue our soules and bodies, shoulde not bee reckned and accepted in GODS iustice, as the ACTIONS AND PASSIONS OF HIS OVVNE SONNE; and haue their value from the diuiner and worthier parte of Christ?

The bodilie death of christ doth more commend the merits of Christ then if paines of hell were ioyned with it.

As the death of Christs fleshe ONELIE doth more expresse the TRUTH, POWVER, AND IUSTICE OF GOD, then if the death of the soule had beene ioyned with it; so the same setteth forth Christs merites, namelie his OBEDIENCE, PATIENCE, and LOVE in farre better sorte, then if wee adde vnto it the death of the spirite, which is the rewarde of all the reprobate and damned. For what a man vnwillinglie suffereth, that sheweth neither obedience, nor patience. Obedience hath readinesse; and patience, if it bee perfect, hath gladnesse; both haue willingnesse.

willingnesse. If then wee bee forced against our willes to endure that which wee woulde gladly auoide, it is violence; it is neither obedience nor patience; and consequentially it hath neither merites nor thanks with **GOD**. The death then of the soule, which is a separation from the fauour and grace of God, did Christ suffer it willingly, or unwillingly? if willingly; there could be no greater neglect of **GOD**, then to bee willing to bee separated from God. It were disobedience and insolence in the highest degree, to be glad and forwarde to forsake God, or to bee forsaken of him. Christ therefore must not bee willing to suffer the death of the soule, least wee tozap him with, in the compasse of contemning and reiecting the grace and fauour of **GOD**, which are sinnesfull enormities. Was hee unwilling to suffer it? then could hee bee neither obedient, nor patient in suffering it. All vertue is voluntarie, compulsion hath no merite. ^a God loueth a cheerefull giuer, and sufferer. Hee that murmureth, in heart rebelleth, though hee holde still his tongue. So likewise I must aske, if Christ suffered the death of the soule, did hee suffer it iustlie or iniustlie? if iniustlie: God could not be the sole and immediate agent in imposing it; and besides God, no creature canne bereaue the soule of life. Did hee suffer it iustlie? then must hee be bolde of all vertue; for nothing but sinne deserueth the death of the soule. Obedience and patience, merite thanks with God; and cannot wante the blessing of God: where the death of the soule is the greatest curse, that God inflicteth heere on earth.

In the death of the soule there could neither be obedience nor patience.

And where they thinke it woulde gratefully increase the loue of Christ towardes vs if hee vouchsafed to taste the death of the soule for our sakes; I replie, that supposition woulde make Christ a sinner, if not a lyar; which God forbid shoulde once enter our thoughtes. For first Christ saith, ^b Greater loue then this hath no man, that

It is no loue to renounce God for mans sake; ^b Iohn. 15

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Rom. 5

that one should laie downe his life for his friendes. But God commendeth his loue towards vs; that whiles we were yet sinners Christ died for vs. If it be loue for a man to loose his soule for his friend, then is there found a greater loue, then Christ euer knew: for he saith, there is no greater loue then for a man to laie downe his life. And the Apostle applying it to Christ saith, The height of Gods loue was this, that Christ died for sinners: that is, for his enemies, not for his friendes; sinne being enmitte to God, and sinners enemies to the holinesse of his will, and glory of his kingdome. This loue of Christ by which he died for vs, we relect as little worth, vnlesse hee endured the losse of Gods fauour for vs; which I take to bee sinne and not loue. For loue is due first and aboue all to God, then to men; this order of loue if we breake, it is no charitie, it is iniquitie. What doe all wicked ones, but preferre the loue of themselves, or of others, before the loue of God: to loue men so well, that wee waxe willing to forsake the fauour and fellowship of God, is transgression against God, and not compassion towards men; and therefore wee make not bying the sonne of God within the listes of this loue, no not for an houre; by reason the loue of God afore all others may not faile in the hart of Christ, not for a moment, bee it neuer so short.

Christs loue
towards vs in
dying for vs.

For our loue then he tooke flesh, when he was God; which was infinite humilitie; and gaue his life for his enemies, which was exceeding charitie; and in the course thereof referred himselfe to the will and pleasure of God, which was exact obedience; willinglie, but wrongfullie suffering, whatsoeuer the malice of Satan, and rage of the wicked contriued against him: the wise and gracious counsell of God so turning the mischiefes of the diuell and his members to the generall good of mankind, that Christs innocent and righteous blood, being furiously and vniustly shed by the hands of his enemies, became the true sacrifice for sinne, and the full price

by the death and blood of Christ. 109

price of mans redemption. Farther then this, if we will force the sonne of God with our fancies, as namelie to the death or curse of the soule, wee doe not onelie diminish the strength of his loue towardes God, but we debase the price of his blood; and make it rather detestable, then acceptable in Gods sight. For nothing can please God, but that which is **RIGHTEOVS, INNOCENT, HOLIE, & VNDEFILED.** And in a dead or cursed soule what place leaue we for these giftes and graces of the holie Ghost? Since then our high Priest must be ^d holie, harmelesse, vndefiled, and separate from sinners, before his sacrifice coulde bee accepted; the soule of ^{Heb. 7.} Christ must necessarilie bee replenished with all goodnesse, and embraced with all fauour, before the death of his bodie could be an ^e offering of a sweete fauour vnto God: and so the power of Christs death is no whitte encreased, but also ^e Ephe. 5. gither weakened, if wee contoyne it with the death of the soule.

The death of the soule then both not encrease the obedience, patience, and loue of Christ towardes vs, but both rather decrease and endanger all the vertues of our Saviour. For if Christ suffered the death of the soule, which is Gods immediate action; since God will offer his owne sonne neither violence nor wrong, wee must confesse that Christ deserued the death of the soule, and admitted it as due vnto him; to which absurdities if wee come, wee leaue nothing sound in our saluation. Can we him iust that deserueth, or holie that desireth to be forsaken of God? I thinke not. Then all Christs sufferings must be **INIVRIOVS**, before hee can be **IUST**; and **VOLVNTARIE**, before they can be a **SACRIFICE** vnto God. Both which are witnessed by the worde of God, as likewise by the ancient fathers. **THIS IS** ^f **THANK- WORTHIE** (saith Peter) if a man for conscience towards God endure grief, **SUFFERING VVRONGFULLY.** For what praise is it, if when ye be **BUFFETED** for your **FAULTS**, ye take it **PATIENTLIE**? But if, when ye doe well, ye suffer patientlie,

All Christs sufferings were **INIVRIOVS** in respect of the doers, and **VOLVNTARIE** in respect of himselfe. ^{1. Peter. 2.}

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this is acceptable vnto God, For hereunto are ye called: for s^o CHRIST SVFFERED FOR vs, leauing vs an example that we should follow his steppes. **Christ therefore suffered as well VVRONGFULLY AS PATIENTLY. Malefactors may be patient, but that is no merit with God. He must be both innocent and patient that will haue thanks from God. So was Christ.** s He did no sin, and so was innocent; s when he was reuiled, he reuiled not a gaine: when he suffered, he threatned not, which proueth his patience. **This vertie testimonie, the these on the crosse giueth him.** h We receiue punishment worthie of that we haue done; but this mā hath done nothing amisse. *Quod iuste debebat Adam, Christus iniuste mortem suscipiendo persoluit.* What Adam iustly owed (saith Austen) that Christ vniustlie paid by suffering death. k *Pergit ad passionem, ut pro debitoribus nobis quod ipse nō debebat, exsolueret.* Christ goeth to his passion to pay that for vs debtors, which hee did not owe. l *De humanitate suscepta tantum beneficij collatum est hominibus, ut à dei sempiterno filio, eodemque hominis filio mors temporalis indebita redderetur, quae eos a sempiternā morte debitā liberaret. Peccata nostra Diabolus tenebat, & per illanos merito figebat in morte. Demisit ea ille, qui sua non habebat, & ab illo immerito est perductus ad mortem: Tantum valuit sanguis ille, ut neminem Christo indutum in aeterna morte debita detinere debuerit, qui Christum morte indebita vel ad tempus occidit.* By Christ taking mans nature, this benefite men get, that the eternall Sonne of God, and the same also the sonne of man, suffered a temporall death not due, to deliuer them from an euerlasting death due. The Diuell laide sure holde on our sinnes, and by them helde vs deseruedlie in death. Those hee remitted, that had no sinnes of his owne, and was without anie desert brought by the Diuell vnto death. But such was the force of Christes blood, that the Diuell had no right to detaine anie man (that put on Christ) in eternall death due, for so much as hee slue Christ with death for the time, which was no way due. m *Mediator noster puniri pro se ipso*

^a 1. Pet. 2.

^b Luke 23.

^c August. de tempore. serm. 101.

^d Idem de trinitate. li. 13. ca. 14.

^e Ibid. cap. 16

^f Greg. moralium. li. 3. ca. 11.

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ipso non debuit : quia nullum culpa contagium perpetravit. Sed si ipse indebitam mortem non susciperet, nunquam nos à debita morte liberaret. Our Mediatour for himselfe ought not to bee punished, because hee neuer sinned. But if hee had not suffered a death not due, hee coulde neuer haue freed vs from the death that was due. If the tempozall death of the bodie were not due to our Saviour, much lesse was the death of the soule due vnto him. And if no death were due; that which hee suffered was wrongfull. Then might God bee the permitter, directer, orderer, and acceptor of Christs death on the Crosse; but hee coulde not bee the immediate inflicter of it, because it was wrongfull and vnderferued: much lesse might GOD in iustice forsake his soule, that with so great obedience, patience and innocencie humbled himselfe to the will of his beauenlie father.

That likewise hee suffered nothing agaynst his owne liking, his owne mouth testified when he said. *Nemo tollit animam meam à me, sed pono eam à meipso.* No man taketh my life from mee, but I lay it downe of my selfe. And else where. *o* The sonne of God loued mee, and gaue himselfe for mee. *p* Loue your wiues as Christ loued the Church, and gaue himselfe for it. If it were loue, then was it no constraint, nor violence, that forced him thereto. If hee gaue himselfe for vs; it must needes bee voluntarie what soeuer hee suffered. *q* *Demonstrauit spiritus mediatoris quàm nulla pœna peccati usque ad mortem carnis accesserit, quia non eam deseruit inuitus, sed QVIA VOLVIT, QVANDO VOLVIT, QVOMODO VOLVIT.* The spirite of the Mediator shewed that without anie punishment of sinne it came euen to the death of the flesh, which hee did not leaue agaynst his will, but BECAUSE HE VVOULDE, VVHEN HE VVOULDE, AND MOVE HE VVOULDE.

Et natus, & passus, & mortuus est, nulla sua necessitate, sed voluntate, & potestate. Christ was borne, and suffered and

John. 10.

*Galat. 2.
Ephel. 5.*

*August. de tri-
nitas. li. 4. ca. 13*

*August. de fide
contra Mani-
cheos. cap. 26.*

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and died, not for anie necessitie that vrged him, but of his owne will, and hauing it in his owne power. If Christ might suffer nothing but what hee would, and as hee would; the death of the soule hee did neuer suffer; for thereto hee could not be willing without sinne, by reason it is a separation from God, and a losse both of his heauenlie fauour, and holie spirite, from which Christ willingly would neuer be excluded.

The recapitulation of manner and merit of Christs death.

Gen. 2.

John. 3.

The samme is, since the TRUTH and IUSTICE of God might not release the sin of man, without fulfilling the sentence of the Judge, ^{THOU SHALT DIE THE DEATH,} and that by man; for so much as man was the trespasser: God so loued the world, when none of the sonnes of Adam was able to restore his owne soule, much lesse to ransom others; that hee sent his owne sonne to become man; and as by the dignitie and puritie of his person to counteruaile and ouerweigh the soules of all men; so by his paines and death on the Crosse, to verifie and satisfie the iudgement of God pronounced against man, and to quit him from all danger following death. And to trie the obedience, shew the patience, and augment the merits of the Redeemer, the wisdom of God decreed, that his sonne in our substance should violentlie and wrongfullie bee put to death even by their hands, for whose sakes hee laid downe his life; that his loue might so much the more excéde in praying for his persecutours, and dying for his tormentors. The shame and sharpenesse of the crosse, so insupportable imposed on the holinesse, and worthinesse of Christs person, and yet so obedientlie and patientlie endured by him, God so highlie esteemed, and recompenced, that hee made his death the ransom of all mankinde, and his blood to bee the purgation and propitiation of our sinnes: his obedience topping alwaie our disobedience; his fauour quenching the displeasure; his blessednesse altering the curse; his death finishing the vengeance that was due to our iniquities. This is the manner and merit of Christs suffering

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suffering death on the crosse, to save us from the wrath of God, that was kindled against our transgressions. And since the scriptures mention none other meanes of our redemption but the DEATH AND BLOOD of the SONNE of God, I hold them wisest, that leaue devising any better or other help for our salvation then God himselfe hath revealed. And as for the death of the soule, I take that to be the greatest hinderance that may be to the worke of our redemption, and to shake the verie foundation of our faith and hope in the crosse of Christ. Which least I should seeme to say, & no way to prone: let vs view the COMFORT of Christs crosse, and thereby see howe his soule was affected towards God, euen whiles his bodie suffered that grieuous, and opprobrious death of the crosse.

I haue often mused what made men of great learning and iudgement otherwise, to sturue so much from the plain sense of the scriptures; and to imagine in the soule of our saviour, such doubt and feare of Gods fauour, such horrors and torments of hell, that they sticke not to match them with the paines of the damned; considering there is no manifest ground, nor euident proofe of so dangerous doctrine in the word of God: but contrariwise, when the scriptures describe Christ on the crosse, they propose his bodie martyred with all kinde of crueltie, but his soule cleauiing to God, with all perfection of constancie. Read the xvi. and xxii. Psalme. who will, which purposeth to treat of Christs passion; and tell mee whether there bee so much as a worde importing anie distrust of Gods fauour, or anie suspicion of the paines of hell suffered in the soule of Christ? [The first entrance of the xxii. Psalme; you will say is, "My God; my God, whie hast thou forsaken me?"] This is that Helen, that hath bewitched the world; I meane the misconstruing of these words. Of which though I haue spoken before, as much as may content any man that is not fastned to his senses, more then to the truth; yet let vs together see whether the rest of the

The comfort of
Christs crosse
taken out of
the 22. Psalme.

"Psalm. 22.

in the book of
2. Cor. 12. 12.

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Psalm admit their new found exposition, or no. It followeth
in the same place. * Thou didst bring me out of my mothers
wombe; thou gauest mee confidence at my mothers breasts,
y On thee was I cast from my birth. THOU ART MY GOD
FROM MY MOTHERS BELLY. ² Bee not farre from
mee, for trouble is neere, and there is none to helpe. ³ Bee not
farre, O Lord my strength: hasten to helpe me. ^b I will de-
clare thy name vnto my brethren, in the midst of the congrega-
tion, I will praise thee, ^c for HE HATH NOT DESPISED,
nor abhorred the weakenesse, or basenesse of the poore: neither
HATH HE HID HIS FACE FROM HIM; but when he cal-
led vnto him HE HEARD HIM. Is this the prater of a man whose
soule is forsaken of God? Did he doubt of Gods fauour, that
with such confidence pronounced, Thou gauest me assurance
at my mothers breasts, thou art my God from my mothers belly?
Was he perswaded that god had refused and left him when
as he saith, God hath not DESPISED y weaknes of the poore:
he hath not hid his face from him; when he called, God heard
him? If these be flat contradictions to their imaginatons,
why wrest they the first verse to euert all the rest? Christ
therefore in the beginning of the Psalm might well complaine
that god had for the time of his passion withheld his PROTEC-
TION, or diminished his CONSOLATION; but in no wise that
God had decreased his loue, or shut vp his fauor towards the
humane soule of his sonne. Yea the next words are an expli-
cation of the former. Why hast thou forsaken me, ^d and art so
farre from mine helpe? Not to helpe in trouble is to forsake,
though God bee not angrie with the soules of such as suffer
affliction. The very words agree, to GO FARRE OFF fro a man,
is to FORSAKE HIM; so he that desireth God not to be far off,
prateth not to be forsaken; but rather to receiue helpe in time
of need. Verilie S. Ambroses iudgement and reason doth sa-
tisfie me, whatsoeuer it doth others. ^e Ille nunquam derelictus
est a patre, cum quo pater semper erat. Sed secundum corpus, in
quo traditus est passioni vox ista processit; quoniam daretur qui
nobis

² Verf. 9.

⁷ 10

² 11

^a 19

^b 22

^c 24

^d Verf. 1.

^e Ambros. in
Psal. 118. ser. 1.

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nobis videmur, quando sumus in periculis constituti. Christ was neuer forsaken of his Father, with whome the father alwayes was; but this complaint came from his bodie, which was left to suffer death, for so much as wee thinke our selues forsaken when wee are oppressed with anie troubles.

If the xiii Psalme content vs not, let vs examine the sixteenth, and there marke what the holie Ghost doth attribute to the soule of Christ in the middes of his sufferings on the Crosse; and then iudge which opinion draweth nearest to the truth of the sacred Scriptures. I haue alwayes SET THE LORD BEFORE ME; for hee is AT MY RIGHT HAND THAT I SHOULD NOT BE SHAKEN, therefore my heart is glad, & my tongue reioiceth; my flesh also shall REST IN HOPE. Because thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thine holie one to see corruptio. Thou wilt SHEVV ME THE VVAY OF LIFE; THE FVLNES OF IOY IS IN THY PRESENCE, and delectation at thy right hand for euer. These plentifull and wonderfull graces of the holie Ghost are here described in our Saviour, as he hung on the crosse, in the midst of his miseries; abundance of FAITH, assurance of HOPE, persistence in IOY. The ground of our faith is the truth of Gods word, sealed in our hearts, by the working of his spirite. The faith of Christ had a farre stronger foundation, and clearer reuelation, then ours can possiblie haue. He was hoped for by the Patriarks, searched after by the Prophets, he was the end of all the lawe, and truth of all the former testament. He was serued by Angels, acknowledged by starres, seas, windes, beasts, fishes, and trees; hee was obeyed by diseases, death and diuels, the holie Ghost visiblie descended on him when hee was baptised, the father by thunder from heauen often proclaimed him to be his welbeloued sonne, and commaunded all men to heare him; he knewe the thoughts of mens hearts, yea the secrets of heauen; he was transfigured in the Mount, and tasted of that heauenlie glorie prepared for him. The confessing him

The same out
of the 16.
Psalme.
Psal. 16.

The ground of
Christs faith.

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to bee the sonne of God, openeth heauen, preuaileth agaynst
 hell, supporteth his Church, and obtaineth blessednes. On this
 he heard with his eares, sawe with his eyes, and wrought with
 his hands: yea, he spake with his mouth, & knew in his heart
 that God had sanctified him, and sent him to save the world.
 I aske now a meane divine; was it possible that Christ Jesus
 after all this intelligence, evidence and experience both of his
 owne person who he was, and of his fathers love and purpose,
 how settled, determined, and everlasting it was, should feare or
 doubt, leaſt he should be forsaken, or want the fauor and help
 of god in those afflictions, which he willingly suffered for our
 safetie: If so vs to distrust or doubt Gods promise confirmed by
 his word, & perswaded to our spirits by his spirit, is diffidence
 and incredulitie. What haionous and horrible sinne then were
 it for the soule of Christ, after so cleare perspicuities, so full cer-
 taintie, so firme stabilitie of Gods COVNSEL AND PROMISE,
 OATH & PERFORMANCE, that in him callenations of the
 earth should be blessed: to haue so much as a feare, doubt, or
 thought, that God would faile him, or forsake him? Let me
 fatherly aduise, and brotherly intreate you all in the bowels
 of Christ Jesus, that you take good heed how you enter on
 any such doctrine. Joiner rather with St. Peter, and stedfastly be-
 lieue, that Dauid spake concerning Christ, when he said:
 I saw the Lord alwayes before me, for he is at my right hande,
 that I should not be mooued. If ALWAYES, then was there
 no intermission: If BEFORE HIS FACE, then was there
 no obscuration: If AT HIS RIGHT HAND, then God was
 neuer absent: If he COULD NOT BE MOUED, then
 could he not be forsaken.
 [But Christ himselfe sayth, he was forsaken.] Then doth
 not say he was forsaken, either in soule, or else of Gods fauor
 and grace; as some in our dayes would faine make him
 speake: but he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsak-
 en me? And his words stand true, if any kind of dereliction
 be confessed. *Quasi quoddam ibi derelictio fuit, ubi nulla fuit.*

Bernard de
 verbis Esaiæ
 serm. 5.

tantum

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tanta necessitate virtutis exhibitio, nulla maiestatis offensio.
 There was on the crosse a kind of forsaking, in as much as there
 was in so great necessitie, no declaring of his power; no shew-
 ing of his maiestie. Divers other kindes of forsaking may
 bee herie well allowed and believed in the sufferings of our
 Saviour; but that he should be destitute of FAITH, HOPE,
 LOVE, or of GODS FAVOUR, GRACE, or
 SPIRIT, that is so dangerous to the office, and pernicious to
 the person of Christ, that it may in no wise be admitted.
 Whatsoever is not of faith is sinne. When howe much we de-
 crease faith in Christ, so much wee increase sinne in Christ.
 WVAVERING, STICKING, DOUBTING are all rebate
 waies of faith, and degrees of diffidence, and greater sinnes
 in Christ, then in any other man; because of his infallible
 REVELATION FROM GOD, unspeakable FAVOUR
 OF GOD, and inseparable COMMUNION WITH
 GOD. *Modice scilicet quare dubitasti?* O thou of little
 faith, why diddest thou doubt? saith Christ to Peter. When
 doubting is the diminishing of faith. Abraham (saith the
 Apostle) did not doubt of the promise of God, or he would not
 have BELIEVED; but was strengthened in faith, and gave the glo-
 rie unto God; being fully assured, that he which had promised,
 was able to performe it. Then doubting, by the expresse rule
 of the holie ghost, is VOYD BELIEF, and a DISHONOUR UN-
 TO GOD, as if he were not able to make good his promise.
 So that wee must in spite of our heartes either CHERISH
 CHRIST FROM DOUBTING, or CHARGE HIM WITH
 UNBELIEFING; and DISHONOURING GOD. If any
 man lacke wisdom (saith Iames) let him aske of God; and it
 shall be giuen him: but let him aske in faith, and not doubt; (or
 dispute with himselfe) for he that doubteth, is likewise of the
 Sea; tossed with the winde; neither letteth man thinke he shall re-
 ceive any thing of the Lord. Doubtfulnesse differeth from
 incredulitie in this, that the incredulous as yet beleeveth
 not: the doubtful somewhatly believeth, but his beliefe is, as

Rom. 14

Doubting of
 Gods fauour is
 signe in Christ
 not in man
 not in God

Matth. 14.

Rom. 4.

Iacob. 1.

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a waue of the sea both, that is tossed with the winde, enclining sometimes one way, sometimes another way. But this man for his inconstancie, shall obtaine nothing at Gods handes; whose truth then wee but DOUBT wee DENIE; and whose promise then wee DISPUTE wee DISBELIEVE. The soule of Christ then maie not bee touched WITH ANIE DOUBT, much lesse distrust of Gods fauour and loue towards him, and to imagine or affirme so much of Christs person, is to drawe him within the compasse of inconstancie, infidelitie, and Apostasie from GOD; which I assure my selfe, no Christian Diuine will attempt or endure.

Feare is more
intolerable in
Christ then
doubting.

If the humane soule of Christ must bee so settled and resolved in faith, that it might not doubt of Gods fauour; yea, lesse might it be perplexed or amazed with the feare, terror, or sense of Gods displeasure against himselfe, as our surety. For to that ende did it please the Sonne of God to take our nature into the vniuersitie of his person, that it shoulde utterlie bee impossible for sinne, death, or hell to separate vs from him, or him from God. Whereof because hee was infallible assured, hee must needs be throughlie perswaded; and in that perfect perswasion, knowledge, and assurance of Gods euermlasting purpose, fauour, and loue towards him, that he shoulde be the Saviour of the world, if doubting bee not tolerable, howe mercurseable is feare and terror, as if hee were forsaken of God? which could not bee, except God would breake his promise, and othe giuen to Abraham and David, and falsifie his truth expessed with his own voice from heauen; yea, and reuerse his eternall counsell and decree, forspoken by the mouthes of so many Prophets, confirmed with so many miracles, and executed and accomplished so evidently in the birth of our Saviour. The soule of Christ must therefore bee farre from fearing or doubting, least God woulde change his minde, recall his worde, frustrate his promise, and violate his oath; for these are blasphemies against God

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God in the highest degree; wee must rather receaue Saint Peters assertion out of David, that Christ did ^{ALWAYS} see God on HIS RIGHT HAND: that hee should NOT ^{ACTS. 2.} BEE MOOVED; And therefore his heart was gladd, and his tongue ioyfull: yea, wee must not onely leaue his faith, but so perpetuall, constant, and strong; that nothing might shake it, or abate it. For if wee giue vnto men faith that shal withstand, and conquere all temptations, much more must we allow the Santo: of the world faith, as farre above ours, in validitie, stability, and certainty, as the rest of his virtues and graces exceede the measure of our gifts. As therefore in wisdome and holines, power and prudence, counsell and strength, righteousnesse and faithfulnessse, no creature might exceed the humane soule of Christ; so in patience and assurance, hope and loue, courage and confidence no earthly might might come nere him. For hee had the ^{fullnesse} of Gods spirite, as much as the creature was capable of; we haue but a portion according to the ^P measure of the gifte of Christ. Since then ⁴ God did not giue him the spirit by measure; it is an euident absurditie, if not impietie, to diminish his faith with doubting, his loue with feare, his hope with horror of reiection, alienation, or separation from GOD; but as constant faith STAGGERETH NOT, perfect loue FEARETH NOT, assured hope TREMBLETH NOT; so the faith, hope, and loue of Christ must not stumble at any of these stones, much lesse make such a shipwrecke of faith and hope, as if hee DID ALMOST PERSVADE HIMSELF that hee was DROWNED, and PERISHED in the gulf of perdition.

[But the vehemencie of paine (some thinke) might for the time wrest fro Christ the remembrance of Gods eternal decree & promise, & so shake & perswasion otherwise settled in his hart of God had sworne he would not faile David.] I had rather confesse mine ignorance in not understanding, then the want of will

• John. 1.

• Ephes. 4.

• John 3.

Christ was not amazed on the Crosse.

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skill in refelling this answer. It is true that a mightie
 feare may so affect a man for the time, that it shall hinder
 the senses from recouering themselves; and stop the facul-
 ties from informing one the other. But this must bee some
 suddaine object astonishyng the heart; and so terrible that it
 suffereth vs not presentlie to gather our wits together, and
 to consider of it. But what is this to our purpose? Was
 Christ in a trancer on the crosse; and so continued eighteen
 houres, from his entering into the garden after supper, to
 the ending of his life the next date at thre of the clocke after
 none: and all this while so affrighted and amazed that hee
 could not remember he was the sonne of God; and sent to re-
 deeme the world? his words and deedes at his apprehension,
 at his examination before the chiefe Priests and Elders; at
 his condemnation by Pilate; at his crucifixion and expiration
 doe they make anye poble, or giue any signe of a man in a
 maze? When hee boldlye professed himselfe before the high
 Priest **TO BE THE SONNE OF GOD;** then he tolde Pi-
 late as well the cause why **HE WAS BORN;** as the place
 whence he had **POWER OVER HIM;** when hee warned
 the women of Iherusalem **TO MOURNE FOR THEM-
 SELVES AND THEIR CHILDREN;** when hee prayed for his persecu-
 tors, as **NOT KNOWING WHAT THEY DID,** and
 promised PARADISE to the penitent thiese that hung by
 him; when he bequeathed the care of his **MOTHER** to the
 fidelitie of his **DISCIPLE,** and **COMMENDED HIS
 SPIRIT** into the hands of his father; was his memorie so
 vnderstanding taken from him by feare in anye of these ac-
 tions: or doe we not rather see his death and torable to his
 life, that is full of constancie, clemencie, fidelitie and pietie?
 If anye be otherwise minded, God graunt they be not in a
 deepe traunce of selfe-liking: that will rather challenge
 Christs memorie, then suspect their owne faultes. Could
 he forget himselfe to be the sonne of God; that so often and
 openlie called God his **FATHER?** that at the heate of his
 agony

Mark. 14.

Iohn. 18

Iohn. 19

Luke. 23

Luke. 23.

Iohn. 19

Luke. 23

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agony praying bled none other stile, but ^a O MY FATHER? ^a Matth. 26
that in the counsell of the Scribes and Elders would not
conceale himselfe to be ^b THE SONNE OF GOD, no not to ^b Marke. 14
saue his life, but said ^b I AM the sonne of the blessed? that
dying committed his spirit to his ^c FATHERS HANDS? he ^c Luke. 23.
remembred to call for drinke, that the ^d scripture might bee ^d Iohn. 19
fulfilled; and ^d knew that all things touching him were perfor-
med; and had he forgotten who he was, or why he came into
the world, euen ^e to saue that which was lost? ^e Matth. 18

And in all good sort to admonish them that are learned,
to looke a little better, before they resolute on so strange a con-
clusion in diuinitie; if wee put Christ in such a maze on the
crosse, that for feare he forgate his fathers counsell, purpose,
promise, voice, and oath; yea his own function, vnion and per-
son: what obedience or patience, what humility or charitie do
we leaue him, in suffering the death of the crosse: what vertue
find we, where remembrance faileth? or what merite is it for
a man to be amazed: how hange they this with their owne po-
sition, that the sense and suffering of Gods wrath in the soule
of Christ is the chiefest and principallest part of our redemp-
tion: is it so materail for mans saluation, as they affirme,
and can it not be maintained but by taking from Christ both
iudgement and memorie? is this that great myserie of de-
uotion, which true religion may not endure, except wee sup-
pose the sonne of God to be for feare besides himselfe: haue
they not spun a faire thread, to be so zealous for Christs suf-
fering the verie paines of hell, here on earth, and when all
is done their assertion cannot bee saued from impietie, but
by casting Christ into a fit of a lethargie? for that God was
indeede angrie, and offended with his owne sonne, is odious
and enormous blasphemie. That Christ so conceaued, and
perswaded himselfe, or so dissembled, when there was no such
cause; charge they the sonne of God not onely with falsitie, but
with infidelitie. To decline both these mischiefes there is no
meane left, but to saie, that the verie force of paine made

The sufferings
of Christ are
no way meri-
torious, if he
were in a trace
all the while he
hung on the
crosse.

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Christ forget both his owne person, and his fathers eternall counsell and loue towards him; which is to ste one absurditie with another. For though by this mize they excuse Christ from sinne, as being neither aduised, nor suffered by feare to be master of himselfe; yet by the same they exclude him from all the graces and vertues of his passion, on which our saluation is ground; and leave him as without memorie, so without merite; since the faculties of the mind, overwhelmed and astonished with feare or paine, haue no full apprehension, much lesse iust deliberation, and least of all free election of good and euill. In which case if we suppose our Saviour to haue bin during his suffering on the crosse we the to our selues to be void of all vnderstanding, in that we cleave to our own fantasies against the witnes both of nature & scripture. Read the list the manner of Christs praying, answering & suffering before & at his death; & tel me wherin he shewed any defect of iudgment, or want of remembrance? Peter saith, Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs an example, that we should follow his steps. If he were stricken with feare besides himselfe, it is a bad example for vs to follow. But in deede he neither did, nor spake a nile thing, no not in the mids of his paines, but he is aduisedlie, quietly, religiously, & obediently: such as might wel be seeme the Saviour of the world, humbled in our flesh, and chastised for our sinnes, but no way partner of our impatient and sinnefull affections.

1. Peter. 2.

Christ wauered
not in his prayers
in y garden

Galat. 5
1. Corinth. 7

[He wauered (some thinke) in his prayers; and corrected himselfe as ouerhot, in that he asked at his fathers hands:]
Such boldfast they take of his wordes, that some would haue his wittes amazed with their imagined feare and horrour of hell fire. But by their patience, their expositions must not looke to bee canonicall in the church of God. If they saie a nile thing well, wee take it with their prayse; if otherwise as men they misse their marke, wee refuse it with their leaues. & God hath called vs vnto libertie, not to be seruantes of men; and to serue erroneous constructions, is

woyle

more than to beare tyrannous exactions. Was Christ vn-
advised in his prayers in the garden? and did hee reuoke that
which suddainly slip from him? All prayer without faith is sin
in Gods sight. What then was Christs prayer; if it were di-
rectly bent against the determined purpose, and revealed
will of God, but euident sinne? His selfe repeating the selfe
same words with good distance of time betwene, and aduised
and vehement zeale, what was it, if it still needed to be re-
uoked and amended, but a voluntary spurning at the stedfast
decree and eternall counsell of God for mans redemption?
But god forbid, we should so conceiue of our saviour, as if there
were in his words, words or thoughts the least inclination to
contradict his fathers resolution. He was not onely patient
without refusing, but obedient without misliking his fathers
will. Esay saith of him. * He was oppressed and afflicted, yet did
hee not open his mouth. Hee was brought as a sheepe to the
slaughter, and as a Lambe is dumbe before his shearer, so ope-
ned hee not his mouth. Doth the holte ghost giue him this
testimonie, that hee mildlie and silencie bare all the
oppressions and afflictions, that were layde on him, and
shall we dare anouch, that hee vehementlie and often strug-
gled, and strived in his prayers against the knotone will of
his Father; and sought by all meanes to decline the
worke for which hee came into the worlde? [His flesh
(they will saie,) feared death, though his spirit submit-
ted it selfe to the will of his heauenly Father.] As if
his flesh did praye, and not his spirit? if then his prayers
were passionate and vnadvised, his spirit cannot bee ex-
cused from consenting and yeelding thereto. And there do
we learne that Christs flesh refused the lawe of his minde,
and so preuailed against the spirit, that it wrested from
him inconsiderate and disobedient thoughtes, and wordes?
or when wee thus saie, doe wee not plainelie bring the
sonne of G D within the communion of our sinnefull
corruption?

¹ Matth. 26.
verse 44.

* Esay. 53

124 The full redemption of mankind,

Christ praised
often and ear-
nestly but with
full assurance
to be heard,
Hebre 5.

[But his spirit was amazed with feare, and so hee kniew not what he prayed.] We take too much bp^a vs to put Christ besides himselfe, when it pleaseth vs. His prayers in the garden were zealous, but religious; vehement, but reuerent; mourneful, but faithful. He offered vp strong cries and teares, but HE WAS HEARD in that he asked; and so long as God performed, what Christ desired, it is more then presumption to challenge his prayers as inconstant and waivering. For my part though I could not conceine the sense of Christs prayer in the garden, yet do I fully resolve he was most assured in faith, his prayer should take effect. His oft repeating of same words, noteth how great a thing hee requested at his fathers hands, which yet he obtained, though it were neuer so great. That which you call a reuocation, I take to bee a limitation, whereby Christ declared, he neuer ment to aske or haue any thing against his fathers liking; nor in any sort to prefer his owne choise or ease, before his fathers will. If this be a trance, then faith and obedience are no fruits of Gods spirit, but fits of a disempered humour, and in the end we shall conclude godlines to be madness. For greater submissioⁿ or more deuotioⁿ, then Christ uttered in that agony, can no man shew. If therfore we condemne this as a maze in Christ, when that zealous and deuout persons be in their wits?

^a Mark. 14.
verse: 33.
Christ might
at the first be
abashed with
Gods maiesty,
or mans mis-
ery; but he reco-
uered himselfe
before he en-
tered into his
prayers,

[But the scripture saith, he was ^aAFRIGHTED, & ASTONISHED.] The liuely beholding of Gods maiesty, or mans misery might both affright & astonish his humane nature on the suddaine, but presently, recollecting himselfe, he fell to vehement and intentiue prayer, and therein continued almost an houre, not swarbling in his wordes, nor waivering in his petitions or affections; but persevering in the same minde, & in the same matter, till he obtained his desire. Nowe to be abashed at Gods presence, declared his picke: and to be stricken at the heart with the feeling of vengeance provided for vs, commended his charitie. Lay these two, deuotion to God, and compasison towards men, as the grounds & causes of

by the death and bloud of Christ. 125

of his Agonie, and you shall easily cleare this foule heape of
absurdities and impieties, that now pursueth the contrarie
position. It is humilitie, for mans infirmite to shake and
tremble at the appearance of Gods glorie. It is mercie, to
stand defixed and even astonished with the sense and griefe of
mans sinfull iudgement and eternall punishment. From this
fountaine, that is from the meditation of the diuine spale,
sile, and commiseration of humane miserie, if we deriue the
HEAVINES of heart, FEARE and ASTONISHMENT,
which Christ suffered as he liued in his agony, we can do him
no wrong; because the more violent, the more eminent signes
they were of submission to God; and compassion on man: his
faith and loue not being oppressed with stupiditie, but infla-
med with such vehemencie, that the weakenesse of mans flesh
not able to followe the readinesse of his spirit, rauished with
a wonderfull seruencie to giue himselfe to saue the worlde,
might for the time faile in the exteriour actions, and offices
of the bodie. But we must beware that we continue not this
astonishment, when he came to his prayers. For in prayer the
heart must be, not onely prepared and aduised; but sincerelie
affected and wholie deuoted to aske nothing, but that which
tendereth to Gods glorie, and agreeth with Gods will. He that
otherwise askeh any thing at Gods hands, prayeth not, but
presumptuously tempteth God, and seeketh to make the
wisedome and power of God seruiceable to his corrupt ap-
petites: For knowe not what you aske; said Christ to the
sonnes of Zebedee, when he refused their petition, and repro-
ued their follie. How shall we beleue, wee shall receiue, if
we aske we knowe not what? Faith must be rightlie direc-
ted, and throughlie perswaded, before it can obtaine. Christes
prayers then in the garden were neither abrupt without
sense; nor wauering without faith; that they needed bee excu-
sed or corrected; but his deuotion was instant, and perswa-
sion constant that he should preuaile; and therefore hee ceased
not to aske the selfe same thing while, till hee was heard, and

How and why
Christ might
be rauished.

Mar. 26.

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Strengthened by an Angel from heaven.

Christs praier
could not be
reiccted.
• Heb. 5.
• Iohn 11.

[He asked that, they will say, which was not granted.]
I am resolute of another minde. My reasons are,
first the Apostle sayeth. HE WAS HEARD offering
vp strong cries and teares. Secondlie, Christ himselfe
sayeth; P Father I thanke thee, because thou hast heard me.
I knowe THOU HEAREST ME ALWAYES. And howe
coule it be otherwise? For if he prayed according to the
will of God, he must needes bee heard; and agaynst the
will of God hee neither did, nor woulde praye. For that
were sinne in him, that was not ignorant of Gods will,
both determined and revealed. And God forbid, we should
bee so wicked, as to say or thinke, that Christ would thise in
most earnest prayer; impugne his fathers will so well
knowne, and so often repeatolde by his owne mouth. I be-
leue rather his owne report of himselfe; for hee coule
not lie. I doe nothing (sayde hee) of my selfe, but as my
father hath taught mee, to speake I these thinges. For hee
that sent mee is with mee: the Father hath not left mee a-
lone, because I DOE ALWAYES the thinges, THAT
PLEASE HIM. Though I beare recorde of my selfe, my
recorde is true; FOR I KNOWE VVHENCE I CAME,
AND VVHITHER I GOE. As hee coule not bee ig-
norant, so coule hee not bee forgetfull of his Fathers
counsell and decree. The glorie of God might appall
him at the entrance into his prayers: but his constant
continuing one and the same request to his Father
thre severall turnes, with intermission of time, and ad-
monition to his Disciples to watch and praye, prooveth
hee had not forgotten himselfe, that still persisted in his
purpose; nor yet stirred agaynst his Fathers will;
in that his prayer was accepted, and assured from hea-
ven.

[Did then the cup passe from him; which was the summe
of his prayer:] No doubt it did in that sense which he desired.

The

By the death and bloud of Christ. 127

The cup mingled by Gods iust iudgment for the sin of man, did passe both from him, and vs; by force of his prayer; not that hee did not taste of it, but in that yielding him selfe to the temporall and corporall chastisement thereof, hee quenched the spirituall and eternall vengeance, that was consequent after death: the abolishing whereof was a worke worthie of the sonne of God; and a memorable effect of that earnest and instant prayer, which our Saviour made in the Garden, thereby shutting vp hell, and opening heaven to all his members. And for that cause the Prophet Esay sayeth his patient suffering and vehement praying, as needfull groundes of our redemption; hee bare the sinne of manie, and **PRAYED** for the TRESPASSERS: and the Apostle reckoneth Christs **PRAYERS OFFERED WITH TEARES**, and his paines suffered through obedience as principall parts of his Priesthood, and effectuall sacrifices for the sinnes of the people.

The cup did passe from Christ in the sense in which he prayed it might.

Esay. 53.

Hebr. 5.

As praying in the garden Christ must be free from getting either his fathers will or loue; In suffering on the crosse he must haue not onely patience and obedience, but intelligence & assurance that the bloody sacrifice which he offered, should be accepted as the propitiation for our sinnes, and himselfe exalted from the shame and paine of the crosse to euerlasting honour, ioy, and glorie. He did not offer himselfe on the altar of the crosse, supposing or presuming it might please God thereby to be favourable vnto man; but as hee came into the world appointed and sent of purpose to saue his people from their sinnes, so did hee humble himselfe to the death of the Crosse, heeing thereto appoynted by his heauenlie father; and therefore most assured that God was immutable determined to accept his sacrifice for the sin of the world, and by the bloud of his crosse to set at peace thinges both in heaven and in earth: and to reconcile vs that were strangers and enemies, in euill woorkes, through death in the bodie of his flesh, to make vs holie and without faule in

Christ on the crosse must be assured his sacrifice should be accepted.

Matt. 7.

Phil. 2.

Coloss.

in

128 The full redemption of mankind,

in the sight of God . This Saint Paule saith was Gods
 7 GOOD PLEASURE, to which Christ was ² OBEDIENT, &
 therefore neither ignorant of it, nor doubtfull in it; but assured-
 lie resolved with fullnesse of faith and hope, that he which had
 decreed it, could not be changed; and that God which had
 sent him, would not deceiue him. And for that cause the Apo-
 stle maketh the death of Christ to be a ² SACRIFICE OF
 A SWEET SMELLING SAVOUR VNTO GOD; and
 saith, that ^b Iesus the authour & finisher of our faith, FOR THE
 IOY VVHICH WAS SET BEFORE HIM, endured the
 crosse, and despised the shame (thereof) and is placed on the
 right hand of the throne of God. So that howsoever late wit-
 ners haue found out the terror of Gods wrath, and horror of
 eternall death in the soule of Christ suffering; the Apostle tear-
 cheth vs, that Christ hanging in the shame and paine of the
 crosse, had not onelie peace and saueur with god, as offering a
 sweet smelling sacrifice, but also ioy before his eyes of euerla-
 sting glory at the right hand of y^e throne of God. And with him
 agree both Peter & David, when they bare witness of Christ,
 that his HEART WAS GLAD, & his TONGVE IOIIVL,
 and that euen ^c HIS FLESH should REST IN HOPE, not-
 withstanding the anguish of death, force of the graue, and fury
 of hell. For God would neither forsake his soule in hell, nor
 suffer his flesh to see corruption.

Dare any man doubt of this doctrine, which is so cleare,
 lie and fullie deliuered vs in the Scriptures? Or make
 wee a pastime of it, in fauour of our families to ouer-
 turne the verie principles of truth? ^d Christ suffered
 for vs, leauing vs an example, that wee shoulde followe his
 steppes. For if ^e wee suffer with him, wee shall bee glorified
 with him. Must wee suffer the paines of the damned, afore we
 may hope to be partakers of his glorie? The game which
 we haue in Christ, when wee haue refused all thinges
 as vile for his sake, is to knowe the fellowshippe of his
 afflictions, and to bee conformed vnto his death; if by
 anie

¹ Colof. 1.
 ver. 19. & 20
² Phil. 2. ver. 8.

³ Ephe. 5.

⁴ Heb. 12.

⁵ Acts. 2.
⁶ Psal. 16.

We must suffer
 as Christ did;
 which I hope
 is not the
 paines of hell.
⁷ 1. Pct. 2.
⁸ Rom. 8.

⁹ Phil. 3.

anic meanes wee may attaine to the resurrection of the deade. Shall the communion of Christs sufferings bring vs to the true torments of hell, and must we perswade our selues that wee are forsaken of God, afore wee can bee conformed to his death? & Reioyce (sayth Peter,) when yee doe communicate with Christs sufferings. **Must we then REIOICE** ^{1 Peter. 4.}

in the horror of hell, and bee glad of Gods displeasure towards vs? I thinke not. Howe farre fuller of comfort is the Apostles doctrine, where he saith; ^{2. Cor. 1.} As the sufferings of

Christ abound in vs; so our consolation aboundeth through Christ. And our hope is stedfast concerning you, that as you are partakers of the sufferings, so shall you bee of the comforts. ^{Christ's affliction on y^e crosse was full of consolation,}

What comfort these men can finde in the paines of the damned, I knowe not; they else where seeme to say, that all feares and griefes, all terrours and torments are trifles vnto the sense and feeling of Gods displeasure and iust indignation; but the holie Ghost I am sure propo- ^{2. Cor. 4.} teth to vs the Crosse of Christ as the waie to perfection, that neuer wanteth consolation. For therein though our

outwarde man perish, yet the inwarde man is daylie renewed; mid when our bodie dies to Sinne, as did Christes; our soules liue to God, as did his. Excellentlie doth the Apostle describe the comfort of Christs Crosse in all the saythfull, when hee sayeth. ^{Ibidem,} Wee are afflicted on euerie

side, but not ouerpressed; wanting, but not vtterlie destitute; persecuted, but not forsaken; falling, but not perishing; alwayes bearing about in our bodie the dying of the Lorde Iesu, that the life of Iesu might bee manifest in our bodyes. For wee, whiles wee liue, are still deliuered vnto death for Iesus sake, that the life of Iesu might bee manifest in our mortall flesh. Christ then in the mortification of his bodie on the Crosse, was neither OVER-
PRESSED, FORSAKEN, NOT PERISHING; but releued & supported inwardly by the power of gods spirit, in which he reioiced, whiles his flesh indured bitter and sharpe torments.

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12. Cor. 12.

^a Ibidem.

^a Heb. 12.

^a Luke 4.

^a Heb. 2.

^a 12. Cor. 12.

^a 1. Pet. 4.

And this rule, ¹ When I am weake, then am I strong, was true in Christ, and after his example shall be in all his members. For Gods^m power is perfected in infirmities.^m Very gladly therefore must all the godlie reioice and take pleasure in their infirmities, that the power of Christ may dwell in them. How can this be called Christs power, if he wanted it in his infirmities and afflictions? And if we haue it from him, why presume we to take it from him in the time of his sufferings? Shall the scholler be aboue his maister? or the seruant more perfect then his Lord? Yea, then God manifested in the flesh? But I hope men learned will take good hēde howe they diminish the comfort of Christs crosse; we must ^a looke to Iesus the authour and finisher of our faith. If he were amazed, perplexed, and forsaken in his afflictions, who shall raise and comfort vs in our extremities? Hee that himselfe was affronted and overwhelmed, with his sufferings on the crosse? It may then be said vnto him, ^a Phisition heale thy selfe. Shall hee comfort vs, that could NOT COMFORT himselfe? Can wee REIOICE AND TAKE PLEASURE in following his steppes, when hee sanke vnder the burthen, and suffered both his sayth and hope for the time to faile? But farre be from vs these vnseasonable thoughts, and vnseasonable speeches. ^a It was fit that hee from whom, and by whom are all things, should CONSUMMATE BY AFFLICTIONS THE PRINCE OF OUR SALVATION, that shoulde bring many sons vnto glorie; the selfe same way that he went before them. Which cannot be by doubting & distrusting the fauor and help of god, much lesse by suffering & enduring the paines of the damned; but by desiring through loue, and reioicing vnder hope to take vp Christs crosse and follow him; delighting in reproches, necessities, persecutions and anguish for Christs sake, that when his glorie shall appeare, we may be glad and reioice with fulnesse of euerlasting ioy.

Do we then exempt the Lord Christ from all sense of his fathers wrath against our sins; whiles we defend in him peace and

by the death and blood of Christ. 131

and ioy of the holie ghost, as he hung on the crosse: There is a feeling of gods wrath which may stand with the pacification & consolation of the inward man; and there is a sence of Gods wrath. All miseries are the effects of gods wrath.

to path which overthroweth both, and breedeth a fearful apprehension of Gods displeasure towards vs; in which is neither peace nor comfort. All the miseries of mans life, whatsoeuer they be, came first from the force of gods wrath renenging sin; and therefore not only death & damnation, but all kinds of troubles, paines & griefs, in our states, bodies and minds, which shorten or sower this present life, are degrees of gods wrath, & chastisements of our transgression and corruption.

When the plague was kindled amongst the people for murmuring against Moses & Aarō, Moses said to Aaron, take y censers & put fire & incense therein, & go quickly vnto the congregation, and make an atonement for the: for there is VVRATH GONE OUT FROM THE LORD; the plague is begun. When the prophet Iehu reproued Iehosaphat for aiding Achab the king of Israel; he said wouldst thou help the wicked? and loue them that hate the lord? euen for this cause WAS THE VVRATH OF THE LORD VPON THEE.

The prophet Esay comforting the church, saith "Awake, awake and stand vp o Jerusalem, which hast drunke at the hand of the Lord, THE CUP OF HIS VVRATH. By the prophet Micheas the Church humbleth her selfe vnder the hande of God in these wordes. I will BEARE THE VVRATH of the Lord, because I haue sinned against him, vntill he plead my cause, and execute iudgement for me. Euerie where the like is vsed in the scriptures. I WAS VVR OTH with my people, and gaue them into thine hand, (saith God to Babylon) and thou didst shewe them no mercie, but didst lay a verie heauie yoke vpon the ancient. So Ieremie complaineth to God. Thou hast vtterly reiected vs, thou art EXCEEDINGLY ANGRY VVITH VS. These, and many such places more, mention the wrath of God, which the saints & seruants of god tasted and felt for their sinnes; but they do not import that Gods eternall fauour and loue towards his children in heauenly things, was vanished or changed. The foundation of God standeth sure; yea the gifts and calling of

^{Num. 16.}

^{2. Chro. 19}

^{Esay. 52}

^{Mich. 7.}

^{Esay. 47.}

^{Lament. 5.}

^{2. Tim. 2.}

^{Rom. 11.}

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God are without repentance. And therefore it is utterlie impossible, that Gods election should alter, or that hee should not ^c loue his owne vnto the end; but ^d iudgement beginning at the house of God, ^e wee are chastened of the Lord, that wee should not be cōdemned with the world. And albett ^f bitterness of affliction some time bite so neere, that the conscience of our sinnes accusing vs as vnworthie to bee the sonnes of God; feare calleth Gods fauour in question for the time; yet that temptation riseth from the guiltines of our hearts, and weaknesse of our faith, which giueth way to the diuel: otherwise as we ought to beleue god will be ⁱ merciful to our iniquities, & remember our sinnes nō more, for his covenant made with vs in the blood of his sonne; so should we bee fallie perswaded, that when we endure chastening, hee it neuer so sharpe, God ^s offereth himselfe vnto vs, as vnto sonnes; for what sonne is it, whome the father chasteneth not? So that if wee bee without correction, whereof all are partakers, wee are bastards and not sonnes, since God chasteneth vs for our profite, that wee might be partakers of his holines.

This correction and chastisement of God, because it ^h seemeth greuous for the present, and not ioyous, is called in the scriptures the rodde and wrath of God; not that Gods loue ceaseth when he correcteth his children; (for ⁱ whom the Lord loueth he chasteneth, and he scourgeth euery sonne, that hee receiueth;) But as the blessings which he abundantly bestoweth on vs, do manifest his gracious and undeserued mercy; so the plagues, with which he visiteth our sinnes, do witnes his righteous and prouoked iudgement. And in that sense must we recheon them to be the signes and effects of Gods wrath. For as he is iustly offended with our iniquities because they resist his will ^k dishonour his name, and ^l grieue his holie spirit, by whom we are sealed vnto the day of redemption; so when he chasteneth our transgressions, the scourge which we feele is trulie said to be the wrath of God; not that God is touched with anye perturbation or alteration in himselfe, but his iustice leadeth

^a John. 13.
^d 1 Peter. 4.
^e 1. Cor. 11.

^f Heb. 8.

^g Heb. 12.

^h Heb. 12.

ⁱ Heb. 13.

^k Rom. 2.
^l Ephc. 4.

leadeth him to inflict that punishment on vs, as well to bring vs to hate that we haue done, by godlie sorrow; as to make vs more warie how we attempt the like, which is religious feare restraining vs from often and easie offending the maiesty and sanctitie of God. But this vengeance of our sinnes because it is temporall, when it should iustlie be eternall; and afflicteth the bodie, where it might wortheilie kill the soule; it is rather the chastisement of a father, then the rigour of a Iudge. And yet the scriptures call it wrath, because God neuer proceedeth to punish, but when he is prouoked and despised, in such sort, that were it not for smart of correction, wee would fall to the rage of open rebellion.

Gods wrath towards his is mixed with mercy and iustice.

Wherefore the displeasure of God against our sinnes was verie great, that pursued our suertie, being innocent and obedient, and euen his owne and only sonne, with all manner of corporall and temporall scourges vnto death, before it could bee pacified; but that Gods fauour towards his sonne was altered or diminished, or that Christ in feare and terrore apprehended any such change in his father, or so much as doubted the constant and eternall counsell, and decree of God, to make him the Saviour of the worlde, and by the bloud of his crosse to make peace in heauen and earth; these are so dangerous doctrines, that I thinke no learned diuine will undertake them. ^m Though he were the sonne, yet learned he obedience, by that which he suffered, saith the Apostle: Now obedience could not breed diffidence but confidence; and was the vertue, that so highly pleased God in Christ, that hee was ^a made the authour of eternall saluation vnto all that OBEY HIM. A double sense then of Gods wrath Christ Iesus had. The first that pursued his bodie vnto death on the tree, where ^o hee bare our sinnes; that is the chastisement of our peace, the STRIPES of our iniquities, and WOUNDS of our transgressions. The next was the serious contemplation of that eternall and intolerable vengeance; which the iustice of God had in store for vs, by reason of our manifold sinnes;

The wrath of God against our sinnes was very great in the crosse of Christ.

^a Hebre. 5.

^a Ibidem.

^a I. Peter. 2.
^a Esay. 53.

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whose danger and destruction touched him as nere, through the tendernesse of his loue and pietie, as if it had beene imminent ouer his owne heade. And therefore euen sicke with sorrowe for vs, & trembling at the terror of Gods wrath prepared to reuenge our vnrightheousnes, he neuer left SWEATING, VVEEPING and CRYING to God for vs, that his stripes might heale vs, his anguish excuse vs, his death quicken vs, and his person sustaine and suffer for vs, what soeuer the iustice of God would laie on him, till he was heard, and allowed of God to offer the sacrifice, that should propitiate the sinnes of the worlde. In these paines and feares, whiles hee felt the arrowes of God sticking in his flesh, and sawe the terror of eternall death ready to swallow vp all his members, we maye grant, that the CONSOLATION and IOIE, which the humane soule of Christ before had of his Fathers continuall presence and assistance, was for the time somewhat diminished; his heart being oppressed with sorrow, his bodie afflicted with sharpe and bitter paine, his soule besieged with feare and care for vs, that neither the dreadful wrath of God ouerwhelmed vs, nor the deceitfull fraude of Satan undermined vs: but by no meanes we maye admit in Christ either feare or doubt of his owne saluation; nor forgetfulness of his person or function; but the harder the worke he undertooke, the stronger his faith, that performed it; the more terrible our danger, the more stedfast his loue, that shooke not from vs in so great extremitie.

[Might not yet the soule of Christ in this constant and full assurance of Gods loue towarde him, and mercie towarde vs, feelee the torments of hell for the time without anye distrusting or doubting of his saluation, or our redemption:] The essentiall torments of hell, are the absolute losse of Gods kingdome, without recouerie, and exquisite sense of hell fire eneraltinglie without release. Neither of these without horrible blasphemie can be imagined in the soule of Christ: the rest that are consequents to these, as desperation, murmuration,

tion, darkenesse, horreur and such other impressions are like to these; and coulde no moze haue place in Christs person, then the antecedentes might. And since it is no where witnessed in the Scriptures, nor anie waie prooued, that Christ suffered the paines of hell; whie strue we to establish a méere conceite of men, neuer written or spoken of, before our age? beare wee so small regarde to the Church of Christ, and to all the learned fathers and teachers in the same, that for thirténe hundred yéeres no man euer knew or heard the right waie, and true meane of our redemption and reconciliation to God, till the paines of hell were lately deuised? Abuses and errours did by little and little creepe into the church by the willnesse of Satan, and wilfulnesse of men; but that the gates of hell shoulde so much preuaile against it, as from the Apostles time to this present age, no christian shoulde euer trulie teach or rightlie beleue how we are saued by the crosse of Christ, is to me so strange, that I will be ten times aduised, before I will once admit it. Let vs giue thanks to God, for dispelling the mist of darkenes and ignorance, that ouerspyed the world vnder Antichrist; but let vs neuer glozie that we first inuented a newe faith, neither testified in the scriptures, nor mentioned in anie ancient writers, nor euer heard of amongst christians before our time. It is no corne but cockle that springeth so late in the Lordes field; it is no faith, but fanisie that neuer before was in y^e foundation of Christs church. The simplicitie therfore of the scriptures continually pressing the DEATH AND BLOVD of Christ, as the TRUE CAUSES of our saluation & redemption; and the consonancy of all antiquity according therewith, do so challenge my faith, and establish my hart, that I will see this new deuise of hel paines suffered in the soule of Christ, better warranted, before I will it to be beleued.

And as for the doctrine of the church of England, which some men would faine infect with this late fanisie, giue mee leaue, men and brethren to admonish you thowhte but

It should some
what moue vs,
y^e hell paines
were neuer ad-
ded to Christs
crosse for 1300
yeeres since the
Apostles time,

The doctrine
here deliuered
is authorised
by the lawes of
this realme;

Num. 3.

Num. 13.

trulie; that who so will treade the sermon of the ⁹saluation of al mankinde, in the first volume of Homilies; and likewise the two Homilies, concerning the death and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, contained in the second tome of Homilies; shall finde that the doctrine which I haue deliuered you, hath the publike approbation of Prince and Parliament, the consent and agreement of all the Bishops, and the subscription of all the clergie of this kingdome, to bee taught as truth in all the churches of this realme, and so hath had, as well in the daies of king Edward the first, as all the time of her maties most happie raigne, what soeuer some forward nouices haue told you to the contrarie. And thus much let me speake in the Honor of her maties, and this realme; I see no cause, why the doctrine of the church of England so plainelie warranted by the Scriptures, so fully confessed by all the Fathers, so long continued in Christs church without contradiction, so sufficiently authorized, so generally acknowledged, should bee controlled or corrected, either by the dangerous denises of some late wryters, or by the vnsettled humours of some late teachers. Hold therefore in Gods name close to the rules of the holte ghost, close to the words of the christian & catholicke Fathers, close to the lawes of this realme: they all concur and conioine together, howsoeuer some giddie spirits haue lately buzzed in your eares that I impugned the doctrine of the church of England.

The first effect
of Christes
crosse; which
is the glory of
his resurrection.

I haue deliuered you foure effectes of Christes crosse; the Imerite of his suffering which was infinite; the maner of his offering, which was bloudie; the power of his death, which was mightie; the comfort of his crosse, which was and is necessary for vs all; there remaineth the glorie of his resurrection, which was heauenlie, of which I did not purpose to speake, when I first entred this matter; but the ignorance of some, imagining I denied the Article of the Crede, HE DESCENDED INTO HELL (for descent but on the crosse they admit none) and

and the zeale of others importuning me to knowe what they might safelie beleue touching that article, hath made me to change my mind; and in this last part to shewe, that I neither frustrate the faith, nor alter the Creede by any thing that I affirme, or refuse. Where to let you see the multiplicitie of mens wits and conceites; there are foure severall opinions that take holde everie one of this Article of our Creede, and challenge the true meaning thereof as their peculiar and undoubted right. The FIRST applieth it to the soule of Christ suffering on the crosse; the SECOND to the bodie of Christ buried; the THIRD to the state of Christs soule severed by death from the bodie; the LAST to the conquest and triumph which the humane soule of Christ had over hell by the glorie of his resurrection, as his bodie had over death. Which of these hath the best right, and fittest sense to be an article of our creede, wil appeare by comparison in the end and byshot of all; in the meane while, I will shortly list them, that you maie see the substance of them, and so be able the better to iudge of them.

The first is the verie same, which I have already handled, and refused as not consonant to the christian faith; but rather repugnant to the dignitie, certainty, sanctity of Christs person, consubstanciation, & communion with God. The scriptures avouch, that Christs SOULE WAS IN HELL, but not while he lived here on earth: it was a consequent to his death, and no part of his suffering on the crosse, as I shewed before. And since the times do so much varie, there can be no trust in taking the one for the other. In this life God sometimes suffereth the sorowes and feares of hell to besiege his seruantes, and bringeth them euen vnto hell; but his saints descend not into hell: feare may humble them, that would otherwise presume of themselves, or make triall howe fast they stande on that foundation against the which the gates of hell shall not preuaile: but this consist of conscience must resolue on the assurance of Gods fauour, except they yeelde themselves vnto

Four opinions touching the article of the Creede he descended into hell.

1. Samuel. 3.

The feare of hell may fall on vs, but not on Christ.

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to despise. In Christ as there was no vice, so was there no place for any such temptation. There was in him no danger of pride to exalt him; and therefore no neede of feare to depreesse him: no slacknesse or coldnesse could take holde of him; and so no terror requisite to awake him from sleepe, or inflame his zeale: generallie there was in him no corruption of nature, no infection of sinne, no waivering of faith, no want of grace, no doubt of Gods favour; and so those dreadfull thoughts and feares of hell, which amaze other, could not arise within his heart; but all the paines and griefes, which the sonne of God felt in his pretious bodie, or righteous soule, as they were VOLUNTARY for our example, and SATISFACTORIE for our sinne; and not MEDICINABLE for any infirmittie of his, nor PROFITABLE to bring him to perfection of holinesse, as they are in vs: so were they proportioned to his person, that was most assured of Gods everlasting loue; and to his gifts, that could endure no inward decrease; and therefore hee must in this point differ from all the saints of God, that euer were or euer shall be on earth. For they may be tossed with the waues of temptation, rising from the remembrance of sinne, & remorse of conscience; but our Saviour, as he was free from all touch of sinne, so was he from all feare of heart, that hee should or might bee reiected from Gods favour, or adiudged to everlasting death. Smart, paine and griefe of bodie or minde, be it neuer so great, will commend his obedience and patience; but the SENSE of damnation or separation from God, or the FEARE or DOUBT thereof in Christ, as they quench faith, and abolish grace, so they dissolue the vniou and communion of both his natures; or else breede a false perswasion, and sinnefull temptation in the soule of Christ. In vs that haue instantlie prouoked the iustice of God, it is the true beholding what wee haue deserued, if God be not pleased for Christs sake to pardon and forgive vs; In Christ, that was perfectlie righteous, and personallie ioyned with God, there could be

hee no apprehension of hell paines as due vnto him, or determined for him, without renouncing his innocencie, and leaving the vnitie of his person; and consequentially hee must find or feare, that God would be inconstant, and vniust; which are more then hainous impieties. For Christ coulde not FEARE or DOUBT his owne saluation, but he must feare or doubt, that either his humane nature should be separated from his diuine, or his diuine together with his humane be cast into hell fier; from which the Lord blesse the tongues and thoughts of al christian men. As for Christs not rememb'ring in a maze, that he was the son of God, & saviour of the world; is a selfe thift to shun these inconueniencies; I had rather simply deny, then any way beleue this kind of descending into hel.

Do I charge then anie man with vpholding these impieties: God forbid. I see by their own words they purpose and professe by al means to decline them, & no doubt detest them; but I confesse my dulnes, that I see not how to auoide the one, if I anouch the other. If we take hell paines METAPHORICALLY for great and intolerable paines; in which sense the word maie bee bled; then it is no daunger to saie, Christ suffered on the crosse the paines of hell: because there canne bee no doubt, but HIS PAYNES were exceeding GREATE, and more SHARPE, then wee canne conceiue or vtter. But this is not the meaning of the Crede in that Article hee descended into Hell; by reason there are wordes before inferring the paynes, which hee SUFFERED, when hee was CRUCIFIED. If wee attribute the sense of Gods wrath, and feeling of hell paynes vnto Christ by waie of COGNITION and COMPASSION towarde vs, forsomuch as the soule hath her sight, and pittie hath her inwarde feeling of other mens miseries, as if they were our owne; it is no wrong to the person or function of our Saviour for vs to confesse, that hee considered and grieved to see the burthen of Gods euerlasting wrath due to our sinnes, none

How Christ in some sense may be said to haue suffered the paines of hel on y crosse

otherwise then if himselfe had bene subiect thereto: so long as we leane him certaintie and securitie of his owne saluation & our redemption; that his bowels of mercie mate bee moued and affected for our danger, and not for his owne. It is farre moze religious to presse the soule of Christ with violent panges of griefe and sorrowe for our iniquities and miseries; then to touch him with any feare or doubt of his owne innocencie or safetie. Charitie is a fitter Agonie for the sonne of God in our flesh, then either timiditie or stupiditie; and yet I do not thinke this to be the sense of the Cræde, when it saith hee descended into hell; for that it were somewhat strange to expresse the virtues of Christs suffering, by his descending into hell.

Papists were the first broachers of this opinion, that Christ suffered hell paines on the crosse.

And least the insolent sect of Iesuites shoulde take such pleasure as they doe, in misconstruing other mens words, and blazing them vnto the worlde as erroneous and impious; let them remember, that some of their owne side, and those not of the meanest both for learning and religion amongst them, haue not onely waded as farre as any other newe writers in this position; but for ought that I reade, haue gone farther; howsoeuer they will defende it or excuse it. Nicholaus Cusanus a Cardinall of their church, and a great aduiser of the counsell of Basill, 50. yeres before Luther appeared, first broched this assertion. *Passio Christi, (qua maior nulla potest esse) fuit vt damnatorum, qui magis damnari nequeunt, scilicet VSQVE AD POENAM INFERNALEM.* The suffering of Christ, (then the which there can be no greater,) was as of the damned, which cannot bee more condemned, EVEN VNTO THE PAINES OF HELL.

^a Nicholaus de Cusa Excitationum lib. 10. ex sermone: qui per spiritum sanctum semetipsum obuiat.

^a Ibidem.

And againe. *Illam poenā sensus CONFORMEM DAMNATIS IN INFERNO, pati voluit in gloriam dei patris sui.* That paine of feeling agreeable to the damned in hell, Christ would suffer for the glory of God his father. Augustinus Iustinianus, that set out the Psalter in Hebrew with fire translations and obseruations, the same yere, that Luther beganne to write;

write; in his scholies vpon the 30 Psalme, mentioneth this opinion of Cusanus, and saith, ** Se huius eruditissimi viri, & in omni scientia eminentissimi opinionem, nec amplecti, nec aspernari;* Heneither embraceth nor reiecteth the opinion of that most learned man and excellling in all kinde of knowledge. Iohannes Ferus a Franciscane and preacher at Mogunce, about the same time that Caluine wrote, goeth further then anie other writer, that I haue read. Commenting vpon these wordes of Christ, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, he saith, *† Exiit Christus hac hora DEVM, non abiiciendo, sed non SENTIENDO: seposuit patrem vt hominem ageret. Sic & Deus pater, nunc non patrem, sed TYRANNVM AGIT, quamuis interim amicissima in Christum sit animo. Illa Christi derelictio pa-* *† Ferus, lib. 4. in Mat. cap. 27. in illa verba Deus meus, deus meus*
nor est conscientia nostra ob admissa peccata, qua iudicium dei & iram eternam experitur: & sic afficitur, quasi in perpetuum derelicta & reiecta a facie Dei esset. That verie hower Christ put off GOD, not casting him away, but not FEELING him; he laid aside his father, that he might shew himselfe to be a man. So also God the father now taketh vnto him the PERSON not of a father, but OF A TYRANT; though in heart hee were most louing vnto Christ. That forsaking of Christ is the feare of our conscience for sinne committed, which seeleth the iudgment and eternall wrath of God; & is so affected, as if it were forsaken and reiected from the face of God for euer. And as if this were not inough to say, that Christ put off his diuine nature, as hauing no feeling of it, and God the father played the PART OF A TYRANT; he goeth on and addeth. *² Non solum supplicium a nobis meritum, verum etiam DESPERATIONEM NOSTRAM in se transtulit. Itaque Christus vt peccatores liberaret constituit seipsum in locum omnium peccatorum, non quidem furans, adulterans, occidens, &c: sed stipendium, penam & meritum peccatorum, qua sunt frigus, calor, esuries, sitis, timor, tremor, horror mortis, horror inferni, DESPERATIO, mors, INFERNVS IPSE in se transferens, vt famem fame, timorem timore, horrorem horrore, DESPERATIONEM DESPERATIONE,*

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TIONE, mortem morte, INFERNUM INFERNO, breuiter SATANAM SATANA, vinceret. Christ did transerre to himselfe not onelic the punishment which wee had deserued, but euen OVR DESPERATION. And therefore Christ, that hee might deliuer sinners, set himselfe in the place of all sinners, not by stealing, adultering, killing, but by transferring vnto himselfe, the wages, punishment, and desert of sinners, which are heate and colde, hunger and thirst, feare and trembling, horror of death, HORROR OF HELL DESPERATION, death, HELL IT SELFE: that he might overcome hunger with hunger, feare with feare, horror with horror, DESPERATION VVITH DESPERATION, death with death, HELL VVITH HELL, and lastlic, SATAN VVITH SATAN. **Trulie I knowe no man that so plainlie anonceth, Christ admitted and receyued vnto himselfe DESPERATION, as this frater doth. For where other men warilte decline to say that CHRIST DESPAIRED, this Franciscane boldlie saith, Christ transferred vnto himselfe DESPERATION, HELL, yea, THE DIVELL and all, and was so affected for the time, as if he had FELT THE ETERNALL VRATH OF GOD, and were REIECTED FOR EVER. Could those quarrellers haue gotten the like advantage against anie of our writers, they would haue filled the world with their tragical exclamations of HERESIE, BLASPHEMIE, TURCISME, PAGANISME, and I knowe not what; and therefore let them goe and washe their stony faces from these spottes, before they declaine so violentlie agaynst our deformities.**

Charitie sup-
poseth the best

And albeit I like not these speeches either in theirs or ours, yet I cleare them both from anie purpose of wilfull blasphemie. They might be deceiued in the sequels of their assertion, but sure they were neuer so vnadvised, as to fallen either DESPERATION or DAMNATION on the soule of Christ. Perhappes they thought hee was besieged and assaulted with these temptations, and that the
humane

humane nature of Christ, being left to it selfe, could not presentlie & easilie stand cleare from the vengeance due to our sinnes, but with some conflict and feare, wrestled from vnder the weight of our iniquities, and in this fight did sweate blood, and spake as if he were forsaken: yea Ferus seemeth to mean that Christ did voluntarilie take the burthen of desperation and damnation from vs, and laid it on himselfe; against whom it could not preuaile; that by transferring those dangers from our persons to his, & suffering them for the time, he might breake them, and dissolue them for ever.

Naturall infirmities, which are outrageous in vs by reason of our corruption, Christ might suffer to arise within him; and there temper them, as Cyrill & other ancient fathers do teach; but sinfull extremities, as desperation, confusion, reiection, damnation, Christ must conquere by repelling, not by suffering: least the fellowship of our sinnes be more hainous in him, then in vs. For as his faith, hope and loue must by manie degrees exceed ours in perfection; so the quenching & slaking of these graces in him, is greater sinne then in vs. Doubt and distrust is farre more impious in Angels, by reason of their excellent knowledge and strength, then in men; and most impious in the soule of Christ, who by his personall vnion with God, deriued clearer intelligence in knowing Gods will, and greater assurance to persist therein, then either man or Angel. For the best Angels haue but the condition of their creation, from which some fell; and confirmation of grace, in which the rest stand: but no creature euer had so fast conjunction, and full communion with the godhead, as the soule of Christ. And therefore DVBITATION, DESPERATION, TREPIDATION in his soule are more hainous sinnes, then in any other creature; for so much as they beleue not Gods truth, trust not the promise, rest not secured in the VOICE and OATH of God, which all are immutable and impossible to bee false; and feare least Gods goodnesse and loue will faile; and in fine doe depyue him of his diuine nature, since

without

Sinful infirmities are more hainous in Christ then in vs.

without veritie, bonitie, and constancie, there can be no God. If then Christs soule could not be infected with sinne, nor haue anie societie with enill, no not for an instant; these doubts and feares of Gods fauour, and his saluation must be farre from him; and in the full perswasion, and steadfast expectation of eternall ioy and blisse, howe desperation should lodge, I yet vnderstand not.

God might reueale, and the soule of Christ in this life behold, as all ours shall when we appeare before the face of God after this life, what cup was prepared for the wicked to drinke, and the sight thereof as it is most fearefull, so might it make him tremble, though he were neuer so free from it; but moze then the VISION of Gods wrath, and COMMISERATION of mans danger, if wee attribute to the soule of Christ; we must either grant he was tempted as well with our iniquities, through lacke of grace, as with our infirmities through want of strength; or else cast him into a traunce at the time of his passion, as some doe, to excuse him from sinne. For that in the fulnesse of Gods fauour, grace and spirite, the soule of Christ should feelee the flames of hell fire; can neither bee pzooued, nor defended by the worde of God. The pzoofe I leaue to them that like the position; which if anie man affirme, he were best bee sure of his footing. It is no small arrogancie, and blasphemie to sit Iudge in Gods place, and to condemne Christs soule to hell fire, without a sounde and cleare commission, to warrant that assertion. Besides hell fire in the Scriptures being ETERNALL; by what authoritie will they quench it at their pleasure, and make it tempozarte? And if Christs soule being personallie ioyned to the Deitie, notwithstanding might feelee the furie of hell fire, when shall the Saints of God, that can neuer bee so vnited vnto his glorie, nor assured of his societie, nor so endued with his sanctitie, bee free from the flames of hell? If that vnion and communion which Christ had with God, could not exclude

Christs soule
freer from hel
then either
saints or
angels.

exclde hell fire; what shall hinder but that the Angels in heauen maie for the time likewise fee the flames thereof? Can they haue faster coherence, or fuller presence of God, then hee which was ioyned with God in vnitie of person? They come not neere the fauour and grace, knowledge and truth, power & stedfastnes of the manhode of Christ, which here on earth they did serue and adore. But none of these things can be intended in the Creede; for there the articles are placed in ORDER AND TIME, as they were performed. And therefore when Christ was DEAD AND BURIED, he then DESCENDED INTO HELL.

The second opinion is, that Christs descent to hell is all one with his buriall, for that SHEOL in the olde testament doth most commonlie, if not continuallie signifie the graue. But this is nothing to the Creede, whose authoritie and antiquitie if wee reuerence, it is soone concluded, that hell there doth not signifie the graue. For first it is absurde, that in a short rehearfall of the faith made for the simplest to conceiue, one article shoulde bee twice repeated; and after a plaine and knowne worde, hee was buried which no man could doubt of; a darke and enigmaticall phrase of speech, HE DESCENDED INTO HELL, which fewe men did vnderstande, shoulde bee added, rather to obscure then to expound the former. Againe, HE DESCENDED, signifieth a voluntarie motion, where as the bodie dead hath neither WILL NOR MOTION. Wholte, HELL in the new testament, is so vnusuall for the graue; that I thinke no example can be shewed thereof. Though therefore this exposition cannot be charged with falsitie, for Christ was trulie buried; yet may it not bee endured by reason of the idle repetition, and strange circumloquution, which troubleth and confoundeth the hearer; besides the improprietie and incoherence of the worde, that a deade corps shoulde descend, and speciallie vnto hell.

The third opinion doth neither mistake the TIME nor the PART which descended: for they referre the words of the

This opinion is not false, but impertinent and idle.

The third opinion can hardly avoid *Limbus patrum*, which they would seeme most to shun.

Creede to Christs soule after DEATH, but they change the name of hell into the state of the deade; and so confesse that Christs soule after separation from the bodie endured THE STATE OF THE DEAD. To this a number of learned men incline, because they would auoyde *Limbus patrum*; disliking by all meanes that the soules of the righteous and faithfull before Christs suffering shoulde be kept in a region or part of hell; and thence deliuered by his descent. I see well enough what they woulde faine decline; but what if by their farre set exposition they fall into that errour which they seeke to fle? Doe they not fauourlie profer, and quite besides the marke? Let vs looke a little into their conceite. Christ descended into hell, that is, saie they, his soule after death, conuersed among the soules of the iust, that were dead before him. But where were the soules of the iust? In a place, or no? Without a place can nothing be, but onelie God. All creatures be they soules or angels are defined with place, though they doe not replenish the places as bodies do; yea what former is not circumscribed within a place, is infinite; which no creature can bee. The soules then of the righteous must of necessitie bee in a place. And what call you that place by your opinion? For sotheuen HELL. For Christs descending into hell, as you expound it, was his conuersing among the soules of the dead. Those soules then were in a place, and that place by your construction the Creed calleth Hell. Their state you will say, is called hell, but not their place. A twittie difference I assure you. The place for soules after this life, is answerable to their state. If their state bee hell, their place can neither bee Heauen, nor Paradise. As is their receptacle, so is their rest; the place doth bring either ioy or paine, which is their state. So that if Christ descending into hell conuersed with the soules of the righteous; of force the soules of the righteous were in hell, which is the selfe same errour, that you woulde seeme by your newe founde interpre-

interpretation to prevent.

[But the state of the dead, is in Hebrew noted by the worde Sheol; and thither Christ descended.] And the state or place whither Christ descended, is in the Creede named hell, and so Sheol is that which the Creede calleth hell. In deepe some say, that Sheol doth neuer in the olde testament signifie the place of the damned: but I must be borne with, if I bee not of their minde. Many men saie, that they neuer proue; and some speake they know not what. As both partes of man sinned in the first transgression; so was there a pit of perdition provided for either part; the graue for the bodie, which there should rot; and hell for the soule, which there should bee tormented with everlasting fire. Both these pits, because they alwayes expect and exact as their due, the bodies and soules of mortall and sinful men, and neuer are satisfied, are contained in the word Sheol; and are not distinguished by the nature of the worde, which is common to both; but by the circumstances added, which are proper to either. For example, when the word Sheol is qualified with an OPPOSITION to heauen with a difference of SCITUATION, as the LOWER PIT; with an ADDITION of the soule there suffering, or of the pain there suffered; all these are proofs that the word Sheol, which is otherwise indifferent, must there be taken not for the buriall of the body, nor for the change from this life, but for the state of destruction, and place of damnation. ^a Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flie from thy presence? If I ascend into heauen, thou art there: If I lodge BENEATH IN HEL, thou art there. Opposite to heauen is not the graue, where the bodies of all gods saints do lie, but hell as being the farthest from it, and most repugnāt to it; since from hel to heauen there is no passage for man; but from the graue to heauen is the assured hope of all the faithfull. This opposition our Saviour expressing in the new testament, saith. ^b And thou Capernaum which art exalted to heauen, shalt bee thrust downe to hell.

Sheol as well
hell as the
Graue.

^a Psal. 139.

^b Mat. 11. vc. 23

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Christ doth not threaten the contemners of his doctrine, and myracles with the graue, which is common to all the godlie; but with perpetuall destruction and punishment proportionable to the height of their pride, which must needs be hell. And so much followeth in plaine wordes in the next verse.

^c Ibid. ver. 24.

^c I say to you, it shall be easier for them of the land of Sodome in the day of iudgement, then for thee. In the daie of iudgement as death, so the graue are at an ende, for the bodies of the wicked shall then liue for euer; and then shall Capernaum be cast downe to hell for the contempt of Christs preaching.

^d Iob. 11

The lowest place
and farthest
from heauen
is hell.

As hel is the farthest place from heauen, that can be named, so it is the lowest, and therefore by the lower pit, is ment not the graue, but hell, which in situation is far lower then ^e outside of the earth where men are buried. ^d Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the perfection of the almighty? to the height of heauen what canst thou do? it is deeper then hell; how canst thou know it? Gods perfection is higher then the highest place, which is heauen; & deeper then the deepest place, which is hel. To compare his power or iustice with the depth of the graue, which is not foure yeards deepe at the most, were a very slender comparison for the incomprehensible greatnes of god; but since in height & depth it exceedeth all things; there can be no doubt, but it is compared with the highest & deepest places that are; which are heauen and hel. In like sort, ^e Thou hast deliuered my soule from the lowest pit, can not be ment of the graue. For mens soules are not inclosed in graues with their bodies, but as the pit provided for the body is the higher of the twaine, and the pit prepared for the soule is the lower; so the lowest pit out of question is hell, where the soules of such as are reiected from God are detained against the day of vengeance. And albeit some of these speeches may perchance admit an allegoricall sense, and so signifie the greatest and extreamest dangers that might be; yet the ground of the allegorie dependeth on the nature of hell, and not of the graue, because of the two sortes of pittes,
hell

^e Psal. 85.

hell is the lowest; and made to receaue the soules of men, which the graue doth not. ^f A fire, (saith God by Moses) is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the bottome of hell, and set on fire the foundations of the mountaines. Fire in the graue there is none, in hell there is; neither can the sepulcher, where mens bodies lie buried, be the bottome of hell. For so shall we make the place of hell higher then the earth, which the scripture euertie where crosseth, when it calleth hell the deepe, or lowest pit. A fire then burning to the bottome of hell, and inflaming the verie foundations of the hils, can haue no resemblance to the graue, nor performance in the graue; but Sheol in that scripture, as in manie others, must signifie the verie place of the damned, which we call hell.

The wordes then of the Crée, hee descended into hell, since the defenders of this thirde opinion doe not referre to the bodie of Christ buried, but to the soule of Christ after death; it is euident by their position, that not onelie Christs soule after this life descended to hell, but all the soules of the iust and righteous leauing this worlde before Christs coming, descended likewise into hell. And this euasion of theirs, that Sheol in Hebrew signifieth the state of the deade after this life, be it good or bad, standeth them in little stead. For first they doe not auoid that obscure and idle repetition, wherewith the second opinion was charged; that, after a plaine and easie article, hee was deade, the selfe same thing should bee iterated againe with a verie darke and doubtfull kind of hebraisme, he descended into Sheol. By this former, he was dead, euertie man must needs conceaue, not onelie the separation of the soule from the bodie, but also the subjection of either part to the state of the deade. What needed then an vnknewen hebrew phrase hee descended into Sheol, to expresse the verie same point, which before was fullie and satclie deliuered? Again, though Sheol be common to the bodies of the faithfull and infidels, yet may it bee verie well doubted, whether the soules of the righteous departed

150 The power of hell destroyed,

The scripture
maketh a de-
scend to *Sheol*,

^s Luke. 16

^h Genes. 37

^l Genes. 42.

^h Numb. 16

^l Psal. 9.

The soules of
y^e wicked were
in *Sheol* before
Christs com-
ing, but not
of the godly.

^m Esay. 38

^m Prouerb. 15

this life be in *Sheol*, or no. And vnder correction I take it to bee more, then the Scripture ante there doeth positiuelie affirme. My reason is, that Abrahams bosome is by our Saviour placed ^s ABOVE, FARRE OFF from the place, where the wicked after this life are tormented. Now to *Sheol* the Scripture maketh a DESCENT, not an ascent, as when Iacob saith; ^h I VILL GOE DOWNE TO *Sheol* vnto my sonne, mourning. And againe, ⁱ you will bring my gray hayres with sorrow DOWNE TO *SHEOL*. And least wee shoulde dreame of a metaphoricall kinde of descent; in the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, the scripture saith; ^k THE GROVND cleaued asunder, that was VNDER THEM, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them vp, with their families. So they, and all that were with them, DESCENDED aliue into *Sheol*, and the earth COVERED THEM. To *Sheol* then the scripture maketh a locall descent, which is either of the bodie to the graue, (for so Iacobs words must be vnderstood; when he saith, I will descende to *Sheol* vnto my sonne;) or of the soule after death, to the place of torment, which is the rewarde of all the wicked. The ^l wicked (saith Dauid) shall be turned into *Sheol*, and all nations that forget God. Where he doth not meane, they shall die as wel as the godly, which is likewise the lot of all the iust & righteous; but they shall haue the due wages of sinne; both body and soule descending to *Sheol*; that is, the one to corruption in the earth, the other to damnation in hell. For *Sheol* containeth both, and importeth both to the forgetters and despisers of God; albeit it fasten no farther on the godly, then to bring their bodies to the graue, which is the gate of hel. Ezechiah mentioning in his prayers, how he was willed by the prophet to prepare himselfe to die, thus expresseth it. ^m I said in the cutting off of my daies; I shal goe to the gates of *Sheol*, I am deprived of the residue of my yeeres; but y^e wicked go to THE DEPTH OF *SHEOL*, which is the place of everlasting punishment. The way of life (saith Salomon) is ON HIGH, to him

him that vnderstandeth to decline frō SHEOL BENEATH. So that after this life, the soules that liue, are aboue, for the way to life is on high; the soules that die, go to the depth of Sheol, euen to the bottomles pit of perdition. Of him that banteth harlots Salomon saith, ° He knoweth not y her ghests are in the depth of Sheol, that is, so wrapped in their sinnes, that they cannot preuent enerlasting damnation. And agayne. P Thou shalt smite the child with the rod, and shalt deliuer his soule frō Sheol. Correction will not saue a childe that hee shall not see death, but it will bow him to obedience, and so saue his soule from destruction. Psea how should Dauid so often confesse to God that his soule was freed from Sheol, if by Sheol hee ment the state after death: for thence it was impossible his soule shuld be deliuered. 1 What man liueth, & shal not see death? 1 so pretious is the redēption of the soule (frō death) that it must cease for euer. And yet comparing himself with the wicked, & his state with theirs, he saith. 1 Like sheepe shall they lie in Sheol; death shal deuoure the, and the righteous shall haue dominio ouer the, in the day spring. But God wil deliuer my soule from the power of Sheol; for he will receiue me. Doth Dauid meane he shal neuer die, or that his soule shal be deliuered from Sheol, that is from the state of such as were departed this life: y imagination were both false & absurd; but he meaneeth, that death shal deuoure the wicked whole, as well soule as bodie; whereas he did firmly beleue, y God would deliuer his soule from the power of Sheol, & would recreate him after death; though his body must of force by the condition of nature ware olde as a garment, and rot in the graue, til the day of resurrection.

And if any man thinke good in some such places, as these are, to interpet the SOULE for LIFE, because it is the spring and cause of life in the bodie; and SHEOL for the GRAVE, where life endeth; I will not vtterlie condemne his exposition, so long as he leaueth a different power of Sheol ouer y iust & vnjust, frō which Dauid saith, God will deliuer his soule; and do not make the soules of the righteous DESCEND TO

° Prouerb. 9

P Prouerb. 23

° Psal. 89.

° Psal. 49

° Psal. 49.

Abrahams bo-
some is no part
of Sheol, or hel.

SHEOL

152 The power of hell destroyed,

"Prouerb. 13

"Luke. 16.

"August. epist.
99.

SHEOL after death. For that directlie impugneth the doctrine, as well of the olde testament, which saith the way of life is on high; as of our Saviour, who placeth Abrahams bosome VPWARD A FAR OFF from hell; when he saith of the rich man; that being in hell in torments, hee LIFT VP his cies and saw Abraham A FAR OFF, and Lazarus in his bosome. Upon which place, S. Augusten learnedlie and trulie inferreth,* *Ne ipsos quidem INFEROS VSPIAM scripturarum locis IN BONO APPELLATOS potuere perire. Quod si nusquam in diuinis autoritatibus legitur, non utique finis ille Abrahæ, id est, secreta cuiusdam quietis habitatio ALIQUA PARS INFERORVM esse credenda est: quanquam in ijs ipsis tanti magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, Inter nos & vos chaos magnum firmatum est; SATIS VT OPINOR APPARET, NON ESSE QVANDAM PARTEM, ET QVASI MEMBRVM INFERORVM, tanta illius felicitatis finis. Chaos enim magnum, quid est nisi quidam hiatus multum ea separans, inter que non solum est, verum etiam firmatus est?* The name of *Inferi* I could no where finde in anie place of scripture vsed IN ANY GOOD SENSE: which if wee doe no where reade in the authorities of the scripture, surelie Abrahams bosome, which is an habitation of secret rest, may not be thought to bee ANY PEECE OF THE LOWVER PARTS albeit in the words of so sufficient a maister (as our Saviour) where he maketh Abraham say, betwixt vs and you there is a GREATE GULFE ESTABLISHED, it is EVIDENT ENOUGH, as I take it; that the bosome of so great felicitie, is NO PART NOR MEMBER of hell. For what is a great gulfe, but a great distance separating those places, betweene which it lieth? *Inferi* are the lower parts where the deade remaine, which the Hebrew calleth *Sheol*; and touching *Inferi*, which are the places, or spirits beneath, we mate with S. Austen conclude two thinges out of the manifest wordes of our Saviour. First that Abrahams bosome is VPWARD towards heauen, and therefore the soules of the righteous before the death of Christ ascended

ascended rather, then descended. Next, that neither paradise, nor Abrahams bosome, (which was the receptacle for his soules of all the sonnes of Abraham, that held the faith, and did the works of Abraham,) was any part or member of hell. So that CHRIST'S DESCENDING INTO HELL cannot be expounded of his conuersing with the spirites of the iust and perfect men after his death; nor of his enduring the state of the dead; since the place, where their soules doe rest after death, is no where in the scriptures called HELL or SHEOL, or, as S. Austen speaketh, INFERI. And this I take to be so cleare, that neither Jewish Rabbines with their grammaticall obseruations, nor Greeke poets with their fantastickall imaginations may be suffered to contradict it. Howe easie it is to twangle with the words, NEP HESH, SHEOL, and HADES a meane scholar may soon perceiue; but I hold it no sound course to fetch the explication of the mysteries of christian religion, either from such impudent impugnors of it, as were the Rabbines, or from such ignorant deluders of it, as were the prophane poets, who talke enerle there of heaven and hell, according to the false and lewde perswasion of their own hearts. And therefore they may spare their paines, that promise us so manie thousand deponentes both Jewish and heathen, that Sheol and Hades do not signifie hell. It will trouble them more then they thinke, to bring vs but one good prooue out of the scripture, that the soules of the righteous before Christs coming, were in Sheol or Hades; and till they doe, I rest on Saint Austens collection out of the wordes of Christ; that Abrahams bosome is no peece nor part of Hades, or Inferi, which the hebrewe calleth Sheol, as being benched from it with a mightie distance; and that the soules of the iust departing this life before Christs death, were

CA-
RIED VP BY THE ANGELS, INTO ABRAHAMS BO-
SOME.

So that as yet wee haue not the true meaning of these wordes of our creed, he was CRUCIFIED, DEAD, & BURIED;

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How y words
of the Creed
are best ex-
pounded.

HE DESCENDED INTO HEL; neither doeth any of
the precedent opinions come neere the plaine and true expo-
sition thereof. For in my iudgement they must haue a sense
both DIFFERENT in matter, and CONSEQUENT in order,
even as they lie, before we can rightlie vnderstand the. If first
he must be DEAD; then BYRIED in body, which was laid in the
earth; lastlie the soule after it was seuered by death from the
bodie, DESCENDED INTO HEL; & this third point, he de-
scended into hell, must neither be ALLEGORIZED, which in
matters of faith is verie dangerous, so long as the proper
sense containeth a truth; nor CONFOUNDED WITH THE FOR-
MER; for so the Creed shal not shortly touch mysteries of reli-
gion, but darchly trouble vs with phrases of variation. And
therefore for my part, I retaine in expounding this Article;
3. things; DISTINCTION of matter, CONSEQUENCE of or-
der, & PROPRIETY of words; and those three considered, the
sense of the Article made & must be, that Christ, after his BO-
DY was BYRIED, IN SOULE DESCENDED YNTO that
place, which the scripture properly calleth HEL; & this sense I
find to be so far from any falsity or absurdity, that it is more
honorable to Christ, and more comfortable to christians, then
any of the rest, that we haue yet examined. Which that you
may the better perceiue, giue me leave somewhat farther to
repeat the fruit and force of his glorious resurrection; and first

1. Corinth. 15

Christ is called the first fruits of them that slepe; not that ne-
uer none before Christ was restored from the dead, to liue
here on earth; but though many were so restored againe, yet
from the foundation of the worlde not one was ever raised
vnto a blessed and immortall life before Christ. Elias raised
the ^a widow of Sareptas sonne; Elizeus the ^b Syonamires; Christ
himself restored to life the ^c daughter of Iairus, the ^d widowes
onlie sonne of Naim, and ^e Lazarus; yet all these after their
returue to life were still subiect to sinne and death, as they
were before; but he whom the scripture nameth ^f the first be-
gotten of the dead, was indeede the first, that euer rose from
the

1. Regum. 17.

2. Regum. 4.

Marci. 5.

Luke 7

John. 11

Reuelat. 2.

the deade into an happy and heavenly life: For where man here on earth is beset with three dangers; with SINNE deli-
ring life, with DEATH destroying life, with HELL tormenting
after life; (the iust vengeance of sinne deliuering the body to
death, the soule to hel:) the resurrection of Christ, being the full
conquest of all his & our enemies, that impugne either his
glozy or our safety, must overthrow, sinne, death & hel; not in
his own person onlie, to whom no such thing was due, but in
our freed, & for our good; & we might bee like wise freed from
the power of those foes; and as members be ioyned vnto our
head, wholly without any hinderance, eueralstingly without
anie disturbance, and ioyfully without any gréuance. Ther-
fore Christ rising into a SPIRITUAL, IMMORTAL, & CE-
LESTIAL life, freed vs from the dominion of sinne, feare of
death, and fury of Satan; and by & quickening vs, raising vs vp,
and setting vs together with himselfe, in heavenly places, hath
not only giuen vs the victorie against sinne, and death, but
euen trodden down Satan vnder our feet.

Christ the first
that euer rose,
conqueror of
sinne, death
and hell.

Ephe. 2.

Of Christs conquest against sinne & death, I shall not need
to say much; things not impugned requite lesse paines to be
defended; his conquest ouer hel, as in himself it shewed most
power, & put chased most honor; so from vs it deserueth grea-
test thanks, as bringing vs greatest comfort; that though sinne
remain, & death preuaile against our bodies, there is yet no
cause to feare or doubt the faulnesse and surenesse of our re-
demption, since the strength of hell is altogether conquered
& abolished from the faithfull; which before was the very sting
of sinne and death. As therfore Christ was^b deliuered to death
for our finnes, and is risen againe for our iustification; so by
MERCY REMITTING, and GRACE REPRESSING, he pareth the
branches, and drieth the roote of sinne, till the bodie of sinne
and death turning to dust, & liethering in the graue, be resto-
red againe after Christs example to perpetuall & celestial life
and blisse. Insomuch that by lamenting sinne past, and resi-
sing sinne to come, finally drieth in vs, and the inward man

The conquest
of Christ ouer
sinne & death.

Rom. 4.

He is the first
lib. 1. ch. 1. v. 10
ed. 1611. p. 101
b. 1. ch. 1. v. 10

of the heart being lightened and renewed by grace doth daily more and more, by desire and delight of heavenly things, aspire to the imitation and participation of Christs resurrection. The force of sinne then being quenched by Christs dying vnto sinne, and his rising againe vnto righteousness, the power of death is abolished by the pardoning and decreasing of our sinnes; that being nowe the passage to glorie for all repenters, which before was the gate to hell for all transgressors. In his owne person Christ shewed his conquest ouer death, not by keeping his flesh from death, which he could easily haue done, but by sauing it from rotting in the sepulchre, and by raising it againe into an immortall and glorious state: that death being swallowed vp by the power of his life, he might take from vs the feare of death, whiles here we liue: and change the curse of death, making it nowe a rest from all labours, which before was an entrance into perpetuall paine. This enemy, because he doth least harme, shall be last destroyed: euen at the date of the generall resurrection, and not before: and serueth now rather to repress sinne, then to reuenge sinne; the godlie being by death deliuered from the committing, louing, or fearing sinne; and the wickedness of God prouiding, that as sinne brought death into the world; so death should abolish sinne out of the world. This is by the victorie, that Christ obtained against sinne and death, by his dying and rising from the dead. His conquest ouer hell, as it is more questioned, and more expected, so will I not refuse to shew you, what I thinke maye be safely believed, and must not rashly be rejected of any christian.

In vaine is all
that christ did
for vs, if hel be
not conquered.

The conquest of Christ ouer hell and Satan may bee no way doubted by any diuine, that rightly handleth the mystrie of our salvation. In vaine do we speake of releasing sinne, or despising death, if the right of hell to vs, and power of hell ouer vs doe still remaine. And therefore the verie ground of Christs conquering sinne and death, is his subduing of hell and Satan, that they should lay no challenge to, nor haue no

force

force against the faithfull. It is then on all sides accorded, that hell and Satan must be fully conquered by Christ; before the worke of our redemption can be perfectly settled or assured; but as well the time when, as the manner, how, are somewhat questioned, and that maketh the whole matter the more needfull to be discussed. To refute euery mans fanisie that speaketh heretof, were an infinite labour; to search out a truth in this case, that maye safelye be receiued, and comfortable embraced, if not necessarilie byged, is the summe of mine intention, and should bee the ende of your expectation; with this promise, that no man carpe before hee rightlie conceiue; nor pronounce before hee well examine that which shall be spoken; least hee checke the Scriptures before he be ware, and condemne the whole Church of God without a iuste cause.

In expressing Christs conquest ouer hell and Satan, I thinke best to obserue these three things: VVHAT hee did vnto Satan and his kingdome; VVHEN; and with VVHICH PART OF HIMSELFE hee did execute this triumph. VVHAT HE DID vnto Satan, wee shall learne, by seeing what he suffered at Satans hands. Proportionable to Christs humiliation was his exaltation; and for the violence which he endured, he receiued full satisfaction. As then on the crosse Christ suffered at Satans hands; and by Satans meanes REPROCHE, RAGE, & VVRONG; so in his resurrection he reaped a triple recompence from Satan: SUBMISSION, whereby his pride was subiected vnder Christ; CAPTIVATION, whereby his rage was restrained, and himselfe chained by Christ; RESTITVTION, whereby his spoiles were diuided, and deliuered vnto Christ. When I say that Satan was SUBDVED, TIED, and SPOILED by Christ rising from the dead, let no vnsettled brains imagine, this is superstitious and popish; as I mean them, and as the scriptures deliuer them; they are propheticall and Apostolicall. And least you should thinke I delude

The methode of handling Christs descent.

Christs conquest ouer Satan had these three effects.

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The prooffe of
these three by
the scriptures
¹Mat. 12.
Mark. 3.

you with wordes, I will shewe you whence I take them;
first tointlie all in one sentence; then severallie from sun-
dry places of the holie scriptures. Our Saviour in the Col-
pell doth purposelie make this comparison, by viter this pa-
rable concerning himself and the kingdom of Satan. ¹How
can a man ENTER into a strong mans house, and spoile his
goods, except he first BIND the strong man, and then SPOILE
his house? Christ then ENTERED upon Satans house as
A CONQUERER; TIED him as the STRONGER; SPOI-
LED him as the right OVVER of that, which Satan unius-
lie detained from him. And albeit it maie not bee denied,
but Christ whiles hee lived on earth, made some prooffe,
of his right and power, to dissolue the workes, and displace
the force of Satan, from the bodie and soules of men; yet it
is euident that the full demonstration of his victorie, and
perfection of his glorie were reserved to the time of his re-
surrection, when he brake the chaines and sorrowes of death
and hell, and ascended to his father, not onelie clothed with
honour, and immortalitie, but armed with power and princ-
palitie; ¹all knees bowing vnto him, in heauen, earth and hell,
and all tongues confessing that Iesus was the Lord, to the glorie
of God. These vertie parts of Christs conquest ouer Satan,
the Apostle doth comprise in one sentence to the Colossians,
saying: Christ ¹spoiled powers and principalities; and
made A SHEVV of them openlie, TRIUMPHING ouer
them in his owne person. That powers and principalities
in this place doe signifie wicked and unfull spirites there
can bee no question; those names in the scriptures are
proper to Angels, bee they good or badde; as Roman. 8
vers. 38. Ephes. 3. vers. 10. & 6. vers. 12. Colos. 1. vers. 16
1. Peter. 3. vers. 22. And heere must needes imposit euill
Angels, because Christ had no cause to conquere or spoile
the elect Angels, which serued him, and ministred vnto
him; but the badde that impugned his trueness, and
enuid his glorie. Ouer those then Christ TRIUMPHED

as

as a conquerer; those hee OPENLIE SHEVVED AS CAP-
tives bounde with chains; those he STRIPT OR SPOIL-
ED of the goodes which they had vnlawfullie gotten. And
this the Apostle saith he did execute in his owne person, as a
triumph fit for the sonne of God, all things being subiected
vnder his foete, yea, Angels, powers, and mightes subdued vnto
him, when he ascended into heauen.

And though some late translators; to decline the des-
cent of Christ to hell after death, doe imagine that the vic-
ked Angels were CONQUERED, SHEVVED AND SPOIL-
ED by Christ in his suffering the paines of hell on the
crosse; and to that ende doe alter the ancient and constant
reading of the text, putting in steade of *ἐν αὐτῷ* in his owne
person, *ἐν αὐτῷ* in the same crosse; yet since both scriptures
and fathers with one consent doe contradict that dam-
gerous speculation, I maie not admitte it as consonant;
either to the faith or truth of the Scriptures. For the
conquest which Christ had over Satan and his king-
dome, was not by RESISTING; much lesse by SVFFE-
RING the assaults of hell. He is no conquerer: that with
much aboe saueh himselfe and his from the furie of his
enemies; but hee that subdueth and treadeth his aduersa-
ries vnder his foete, and so maisteth them, that hee may dis-
pose of them at his will, he is truly called a conquerer. And
since the Apostle saith, Christ SPOILED the powers of dark-
nes, and made AN OPEN SHEVV of them; and TRIVM-
PHED over them, it is an euident wrong to Christ to thinke
that all the conquest hee had over them, was at length to
REPELL them; with mightie feares and cries to SCAPE
their force. Yea the redemption of mankind is altogether
vncertain and vninsufficient, if our head being God and man,
could doe no more but by long struggling winde himselfe out
of Satans clauies. We must confesse an other kind of con-
quest, before the kingdome of Christ can ouerrule all as it
must; and his Church be secure from the gates of hell;

1. Cor. 15.
1. Peter. 3.

On the crosse
Christ obtai-
ned his tri-
umph, but he
executed it at
his resurrectio

to

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1 Mar. 28.
9 Philip. 2.
1 Reuel. 1.

1 Psal. 2.
1 Heq. 2.

to wit, that **P**ALL **P**OWER in heauen and earth was giuen vnto him; that **E**VERIE **K**NEE in heauen, and earth, and hell bowed vnto him; that he had and hath **T**HE **K**EYES of death and of hell; and could **R**ULE his enemies with a rodde of yron, and breake them like a potters vessell; that by his death, hee **D**ESTROYED him, that was the ruler of death, euen the diuell. This conquest **C**HRIST purchased by his passion, but he did not execute it till his resurrection; otherwise he could not haue died, if death on the crosse had bene thoughtlie conquered. But hee was humbled and exhalted on the crosse, euen vnto death, that he might after in his resurrection bee exalted, and replenished with all honour, power, and principallitie, in heauen, earth and hell. Howbeit of the time **W**HEN hee triumphed, wee shall afterwarde speake; we nowe obserue **W**HAT hee did in his triumph ouer hell and Satan; and by the Scriptures wee finde that **C**HRIST ENTERED Satans house, TIED him, and SPOILED his godes; or as the Apostle expresseth it, hee SPOILED **P**OWERS & **P**RINCIPALITIES, MADE AN OPEN SHEVV of them, and TRIUMPHED OVER THEM IN HIS **O**VVNE PERSON.

And least I be thought to pretend an ancient and vniforme reading of Pauls wordes in this place without iust proofe, let vs see what ancient fathers haue followed the same. The Siriack translation of the newe Testament, which is of no small antiquitie, readeth **I**N SEMETIPSO, IN HIS **O**VVNE PERSON, as I doe. So do Origen, in *Epistola ad Romanos*, lib. 5. cap. 5. Epiphanius in *Anchorato*, & *contra Pnenmatomacheas hares*. 74. Chrysostome homil. 6. in 2. ca. ad *Colos.* and Theodoret likewise in 2. cap. ad *Colos.* Of the Latine fathers, in whome it maye better bee distinguished, the booke de *Trinitate* vnder Tertullians name, Augustine contra *Faustum*: lib. 16. cap. 29. & *Epistola* 59. Hilarius de *Trinitate*. lib. 1. & lib. 9. Fulgentius ad *Thrasimundum*. lib. 3. Hieronymus in cap. 2. ad *Colos.* Ambrose vpon the same place, Rufinus

1 Colos. 2.
The fathers
read in *semetipso* in his own
person, and
those y reade
en autō
applie it to
Christ, & not
to the crosse,
saue onelie
Occumenius.

Ruffinus in *Symbolum Apostolicum*, and so throughout the Latine Church without anie dissenting. Onelie the Greeke collections under Oecumenius name, referre that triumph which saint Paul here speaketh of, to the Crosse, saying that Christ shamed and confounded the diuell on the crosse, in that he was openlie crucified in the eyes of all the people. And although I condemne not the sense as false, that Christ wrestled with Satan on the crosse, and even there ouermasted his power, yet that Christ had no further or greater triumph ouer hell and Satan, then by dying on the crosse in the sight of men; doth vtterlie abolish the glozie of his resurrection, and contradicteth the whole course of the scriptures. By his suffering and dying on the crosse; hee deserued and purchased the exaltation, and triumph which he had afterwards, when he rose from the dead; and euen before he died, he was folle assured, that neither his soule should be left in hell, nor his flesh see corruption; but that God would raise him again, and give him all power in heauen and earth; and make all knees in heauen, earth, and hell to bow vnto him, and place him at his right hand in the brightnesse of eternall glozie. It may therefore be confessed & belæued, that Christ overthrow Satan on the crosse; and so triumphed in spirit against him, or had a spirituall triumph over him, as David saietolde, when he said in the person of Christ; Mine heart was glad, and my tongue ioyfull, yea my flesh shall rest in hope; but that the glorie of his resurrection did not farre excell the shame of his passion, and that his rising from the deade was no more victorious and triumphant, then his yeelding himselfe vnto death, is directlie repugnant to the truth of the scriptures. Though he were ^{CRUCIFIED THROUGH HIS} ^{FIRMITY}, yet liue he (saith Paul) through the power of God. So that to die, euen in Christ, was infirmity, though voluntarie; to liue againe as hee liue in the height of celestiaall glozie, was a cleare demonstration of the power of God in him. He was declared to be the son of God,

Oecumenius in
2. cap. ad Colos.

Christs resurrection was a far more glorious triumph ouer Satan, then his passion was.

2. Cor. 13.

1. Rom. 1.

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in power by the resurrection from the dead. Inſomuch that if Chriſt had died, and not riſen againe, his conqueſt had not beene worth the ſpeaking of. ² If Chriſt bee not raiſed, your faith is in vaine, ſaith Paule; and ye are yet in your finnes. Chriſtes death then without his reſurrection had beene a full conqueſt of Satan ouer Chriſt, and all his members. That which Paule ſayeth, is true, as well in Chriſt as in vs; ^a It is ſowen in diſhonour, it is raiſed in glorie; it is ſowen in WEAKENEſſE, it is raiſed in power. Since then in the death and croſſe of Chriſt the holie ghooſt noteth ^b reproach, ^c ſhame and weakenesse; wee do ſotillie erre, if wee aſcribe no greater, nor other triumph to Chriſt ouer death and hell; then his croſſe and paſſion. ^d Theſe things Chriſt was to ſuffer, and (ſo) to enter into his glorie; but we muſt make as great difference betwixt his dying; and his riſing againe, as wee woulde betwixt his weakenesse and his power; his conflict, and his conqueſt; his depreſſion, and his exaltation; his ſuffering in reproch, and his raigning in glorie.

For the better euidence thereof, you ſhall ſee the holie ſcriptures at large expreſſe the verie ſame parts, and the verie ſame time, which I obſerued vnto you. ^e Chriſt humbled himſelfe, and became obedient vnto the death, euen the death of the croſſe. WHEREFORE God alſo highly EXALTED him, and gave him a name aboue euery name, that at the name of Ieſus euery KNEE SHOULD BOW, of things IN HEAVEN IN EARTH, AND BENEATH THE EARTH. Under the earth are no reaſonable creatures to kneele to Chriſts perſon and ſcepter, but the damned ſpirits and ſoules in hell, except we take holde of Purgatorie, or Limbus patrum; the elect in heauen doe willingly ſerue him; ſuch as liue on earth, doe endure his iuſtice or loue his mercie; the ſpirits beneath doe finde his truth, and feele his hand; the moſt aduerſe acknowledge his name, and feare his force. This exaltation of Chriſt to raigne ouer heauen, earth and hell, came

^a 1. Cor. 15.

^b Ibidem.

^c Heb. 13.

^d Heb. 12.

^e Luke. 24.

^f Phil. 2.

The cauſe and time of Chriſts triumph.

came after his death, as being the rewarde and effect of his obedience vnto death. So saith the Apostle. He humbled himselfe, and became obedient to the death, euen the death of the Crosse. WHEREFORE (or for which cause) God highlie exalted him, that in the name of Iesus all knees in heauen, earth and hell should bowe. Then on the crosse, or afore his death the time was not yet come, that Christ should be thus exalted; but there rather was the time and place of his humiliation; and when he rose againe, ^{all} power in heauen and earth was giuen vnto him. & I was dead (saith hee himselfe) and behold I am aliue for euermore; and I HAVE THE KEIES OF HELL AND OF DEATH; that is all power ouer death and hell, to ^h shut and no man may open; to open, and no man may shut. The Prophet Esay pointeth to the verie same CAUSE AND TIME of Christs exaltation. ⁱ BECAUSE he hath powred out his soule vnto death; THEREFORE will I giue him his portion with the great, and hee shall diuide the spoiles with the mightie. If FOR THAT CAUSE; then AFTER THAT TIME, Christ diuided the spoyles of the mightie; or (as the Apostle speaketh) hee spoyled powers and principalities. And noting exactly the TIME of Christs triumph, the Apostle saith ἀναβας εἰς ὕψος, ASCENDING ON HIGH; HE LED CAPTIVITYE CAPTIVE. This that hee ascended, what meaneth it, but that hee first descended into the lower partes of the earth? Christ did not leade captivitye captiue, when hee descended into the lower partes of the earth, but when hee ascended from thence. The Diuels then which helde vs in captivitye, were themselves leade captiue, when Christ ascended from the lower partes of the earth; and then were powers and principalities SPOILED, and openlie SHEVVED, Christ TRIUMPHING OVER THEM, not on the Crosse at the time of his passion; but IN HIS OVNE PERSON, at the time of his resurrection and ascension.

¹ Math. 28.² Reuel. 1.³ Reuel. 3.¹ Esay. 53.¹ Ephes. 4.

¹Reuel. 20.

An effect of this triumph is this, that an Angell was sent (in the Reuelation of Saint Iohn) from heauen hauing the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand. And hee tooke the Dragon that olde Serpent, which is the diuel & Satan, and bound him a thousand yeares. And cast him into the bottomlesse pit, and shut him vp, and sealed vpo him, that he should deceiue the people no more. If a messenger from Christ had this power ouer Satan, to binde him, and shew him vp, what commaund then had Christ himselfe ouer hell and Satan? And how wholesome and glad some a thing is it for vs to be leaue and confesse, that Christ Iesus our Lord and sauour hath Satan, and all the powers of hell chained at his will, and by his conquest ouer them so ruleth and restraineth them that they can not stirre but by his leaue and appointment; and thus shall he hold them captiue, till hee deliuer the kingdome to God his father, and thoroughly tread both death and Satan vnder our feete. This doctrine I trust maintaineth no superstition, but sound and true religion, as well touching the partes, as the time of Christs conquest and triumph ouer death and hell.

Christs man-
hood must tri-
umph and not
his Godhead.

²Gen. 3.

It resteth now to search what part of Christ had this triumph ouer hell; for so much as Christ consisted of two natures, diuine, and humane; his manhood by death was then diuided into two places, the bodie being separate from the soule, and lying in the dust of the earth, but without corruption. And first, we must not referre this triumph to his diuine nature; by reason it was no maiestie for god to conquer his vassall. The seede of the woman must bruize the serpents heade, and not the maker of heauen and earth with his almightie power & maiestie. Besides the godhead of Christ coulde neither truly DESCEND, nor ASCEND; as being euery where present; nor be EXALTED as being equall with the highest, nor RECEIVE GIFT, as hauing all fulnes in it: but that nature which led captiuitie captiue, did first DESCEND into the lower parts of the earth, & after ASCENDED, & was EXAL-

TED.

TED, and RECEAVED this power and honour as a GIFT from God, in respect of his obedience, patience, and humilitie. The places are before alleaged, there is no neede to repeat them. It was then Christs humane nature, which God so highlie EXALTED for his former obedience vnto death, and to which all power was giuen in heauen and earth; his diuine was euer in euen degree with his father, full of maiestie, power and glorie. It is not to be neglected, that Irenaeus saith. *Si homo non vicisset inimicum hominis, non iuste victus esset inimicus*. If a man had not ouercome the enemy of man, the enemy had not lawfully beene ouercome. Which proportion of iustice the Apostle bigesth, when he saith; as ^o by a man came death, so by a man came the resurrection of the dead. Since then the humane nature of Christ by condition might, and by desert must bee exalted aboue all creatures; and by the rule of iustice had the conquest of satan and his kingdom; it is no harde matter to discerne, which part of Christs manhood must ouerthrow death, and which must triumph ouer hell. The bodie of man, whiles the first death lasteth, is not due to hell; it must lie dead and senselesse in the earth; and so can neither see, nor feele the paines of hell. Christs bodie then lying in the graue without SENSE, MOTION, OR LIFE, could haue no conquest ouer hell; ouer death it had, being preserved in the graue without all corruption; and raised from the deade to a blessed and immortall state without all imperfection: Ouer hel it had none, because that part of Christ which did conquere hel, must haue as well MOTION TO DESCEND thither, and POWER TO REPRESSE there the rage of satan; as also LIFE AND SENSE TO SPOYLE powers and principalities, and by leading them captiue to make an open shew of them; from al which, the first death kept the bodie of Christ; till the time that his soule ascending with triumph from hell, took his body from death, and so made a perfect conquest ouer hell and death, not onlie for his owne person, to whome all power was giuen

^o Irenaeus. lib. 3. cap. 10.

^o 1. Corin. 15

And in his manhood the soule, not the bodie, which lay dead in earth.

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in heauen and earth, but for his members also, for whose safety he toke from Satan the keyes of hell, and of death, that he himselfe might be Lord of the dead & the liuing. So that now the power of hell is destroyed, and Satan restrained, and the faithfull freed from all feare, & assured that the gates of hel shall not preuaile against them. And this is that victorie, which God threatened to death and hell by his prophet, saying: I will redeeme them from THE POWER OF HELL; I will deliuer them from death. O death I will be thy death: O HELL I WILL BE THY DESTRUCTION; repentance is hid from mine eyes.

Rom. 14

Matth. 16.

Osee. 13

Whether Christs descent to hel be written in the scriptures, or no.

August. de doctri. Christiana. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Ibidem.

So agreeable is this doctrine to the christian faith, & so comfortable to all the godly, that few would refuse it, except such as are waspishlie wedded to their owne fancies; if it might appeare where this is written in the scriptures. The which desire of religious mindes, while I laboꝝ to satiffie, I must forwarne them, how easie it is for contentions spirits to frustrate the strength of all that God saith, if they may be suffered with diuerse significations, & figuratiue interpretations; to elude when they list, the wordes of the holie ghost, & decline the literall & proper sense of the diuine oracles at their pleasures. This rule therefore must be helde throughout the scriptures, y^e in mysteries of religion, we diuert not from the naturall & proper significations of the wordes, but when the letter impugneth the grounds of christian faith & charity. Otherwise we shall leaue nothing sound & sure in the word of God; if we may auoid all things by figures: that please not our humors. To this lesson, (saith Austen) whereby wee take heede not to interpret a figuratiue speech, as if it were proper; we must adde another, that wee take not a proper speech, as if it were figuratiue. First then we must shewe the meane, how to finde out whether the speech bee figuratiue or proper. And this is the way to discern them; *ut quicquid in sermone diuino, neque ad morum honestatem, neque ad fidei veritatem proprie referri potest, figuratum esse cognoscas*; that whatsoever in the diuine scriptures

Scripture CANNOT PROPERLY be referred to the honestie of maners, or to the verity of faith, thou maist be sure it is FIGURATIVE. So long then as the proper sense of the scriptures may stand with the Analogy of faith, and direction of charity; we offer violence to the word of God, if wee wrest it to a figurative understanding.

From this rule, (which must be obserued throughout the body of the scripture,) if we do not rashly slide; it is no harder matter to shew where Christs descent to hell is expressely recorded in the scriptures. The words are well known, & often alleaged, if men were not disposed to peruert, or elude them with their enigmatiCALL & allegorizALL constructions. "Thou WILT NOT FORSAKE MY SOVLE IN HELL, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruptio. If Christs soule in hel were assisted with the glorious power and presence of God; ergo Christs soule WAS in hel. And THERE it could not be, without DESCENDING THITHER. The descent thereof Christs soule into hell, when it was seuered from the bodie, is apparantly witnessed in the scriptures, notwithstanding the diuers conceits of men doe diuersly expound it. To take the SOVLE for the GARGAS; & HEL for the GRAVE, (as some do) if it be not a wrested exposition, I am sure it is not the proper interpretation of the words; and therefore in mysteries of faith by no meanes to be admitted. To let the soule retain her true signification, and by hell to meane paradise (where others defend the soule of Christ was all the time, that his bodie lay in the grane;) if it be not a misconstruction, it is no literall exposition of the place; and in my iudgement a verie strange kind of figure it is, to expresse Christs ascent into Paradise, by his descent into hell; & so to expound the words of the Creed, that we drave them to a cleane contrary sense. If therefore we leaue forcing & wresting the words of the holy ghost, & let their proper & true signification stand, as well h words, as the circumstances will exactly prove that h soule of Christ after death DESCENDED INTO HEL. That this was performed after Christ was dead, and consequently when

"Psal. 16.

Actes. 2

The words are plaine enough if we wrest the nor from their proper sense,

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When his soule was seuered from his bodie, there can be no question; as I haue shewed before; for that Christ saith, his flesh ^{SHAL LIE DOWN} (or take rest in the tabernacle of his graue) IN HOPE that God VWIL NOT FORSAKE HIS SOVLE IN HEL; and in this hope Christ died: this assistance was therefore giuen him after death. That his soule must be taken properly for that part, which after death saue the power and presence of God not forsaking him, as well the separation of the bodie, as fruition of Gods assistance do plainlie proue. Whiles we liue, the bodie or soule may rightlie import the whole man; but after death it is more then absurd to take the soule for the bodie, or the bodie for the soule: yea in men here liuing, wee must take heede that in matters of doctrine we mistake not the one for the other. In matters of fact, to note the person by either part, can be no danger; but in their attributes and properties, to confounde them, is to leaue nothing certaine in christian religion. Tertullian saith truly, *Certe peruersissimū, ut carnem nominantes animā intelligamus; & animam significantes, carnē interpretemur. Omnia periclitantur aliter accipi, quam sunt; & amittere quod sunt, dum aliter accipiuntur: si aliter, quam sunt, cognominantur. Fides nominum salus est proprietatum.* It is most peruerse, that the flesh being named, wee should vnderstande the soule, or the soule being signified, wee should interpret it for the flesh. All thinges shall be in danger to be otherwise taken then they are, and to loose that they are, while they are mistaken, if wee call them by other names then their owne. The distinction of their names is the preservation of their properties. And yet in these words the case is clearer. For here are both partes exprested and distinguished as well by the ^{NATURES,} as ^{PLACES,} as by their NAMES. Christs soule was not forsaken in hell, but enjoyed the glorious assistance of God, enen there, where God forsaketh all others: Christen flesh lying dead without sense in the graue, was there preserved from all corruption. For David, saith Peter, ^{spake of} Christs

Psal. 16.

The soule must not be taken for the bodie, though man may be signified by either.

Tertullian. de carne Christi. cap. 13.

Actes. 2.

Christs resurrection, that his **SOULE** was not forsaken, (or left) in hel, nor his **FLESH** saw corruption. ² *Quum diuidit species, carnem & animam, duo ostendit*, saith Tertullian. When (the scripture) deuideth the kindes, as the soule and the flesh, it noteth two distinct things. Since then Peter doth not onlie so repute, but so interpret Dauids wordes, that hee spake of Christs soule and Christs flesh; it is euident they must be two distinct and different thinges, both in Dauids predication, and in Peters application.

¹ *Tertullian. de carne Christi. cap. 13*

Againe in these wordes is not comprised the generall state of the dead common to Christ with all other, but a spectall prerogative verified in none, but in the true Messias and Saviour of the worlde. For neither of these was euer accomplished in anie, but in Christ. Then as no flesh in the sepulchre was euer free from corruption, but onlie Christs; so no soule in hell was euer supported and assisted by God, and not forsaken, but onely Christs. If by hell, wee vnderstand Paradise; it was no pssledge to be there not forsaken, but rather a childish absurditie to thinke that any soule might there be forsaken; and so no cause for Christ so strongly to hope, and so greatly to reioice, that **HIS SOULE** should not be forsaken, where it was impossible, that anie soule should be forsaken: but this is rather a iust ground of exceeding iote, if where all soules were forsaken of God, as in hell they are; there Christs soule should not be forsaken, but assisted with the might and maiestie of God, to breake the force, and tread the power of hell vnder his feet. And this proueth Christs resurrection more strongly, (for which cause Dauid spake it) then if wee applie the name of hell to the state of Paradise. For if Christ did rise againe without corruption, because his soule was not forsaken of God in Paradise; then all the soules that rise not in like maner, are forsaken of God, though they still remaine in the rest and comfort of Paradise; which is a palpable falsity, if not impietie. But if neither the graue could corrupt his flesh, nor hell detain his soule; what better assurance could be brought of his

The circumstances proue the words must be properly taken.

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resurrection, then that neither death could dissolve his bodie into dust, nor hell preuaile against his soule. And this I take to be S. Peters reason when hee saith to the Jewes: ^b Iesus of Nazareth haue ye taken by the handes of the wicked, & crucified, and slaine: whom God raised againe, BREAKING THE SORROWVES OF DEATH, in as much as it was IMPOSSIBLE he should BE HELD THEROF. God made way for Christ to rise againe by BREAKING THE SORROWVES OF DEATH before him, that they should not hinder him. Christs bodie lying dead in the graue, & lacking sense could haue no sorrow. In Paradise a place of rest & ioie, if his soule were there, much lesse may we imagine any sorrow. Since then the sepulchre hath no SENSE where Christs flesh lay; & Paradise hath NO SORROW; the SORROWVES OF DEATH must needs be referred to the paines of hel, which were all loosed and dissolved before Christ, because IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE THEY SHOULD TAKE HOLD OF HIM.

[But Peter, they will say, nameth the SORROWVES OF DEATH, and not of hell:] as if the name of death did not extende, as well to the ^c SECOND DEATH, which is hell, as to the first, which is the dissolution of nature: and THE SORROWVES OF THE FIRST DEATH Christ apparantly suffered, as much as any man; and they ended with death, they dured not after death. But in Peters words the sorrows of death were broken at Christs resurrection. God ^d raised him vp, loosing the sorrowes (or paines) of death. Wherefore the SORROWVES OF THE SECOND DEATH must necessarily be understood; & those were all broken and dissolved before Christ, by reason his soule was not forsake in hell, but united vnto God, & aided by the mighty hand of God, to tread vpon al the power of ^e his aduersary, & in his own person to triumph over Satan, and al the strength of the kingdom of darknes.

Lastly howsoeuer some presumers on their Hebrew may twangle with the word Sheol in Dauids speech, thou wilt not forsake my soule in hel: yet the worde ^f *Sheol*, by which S. Luke expresseth Dauids meaning, both properly import in the new testa-

Actes. 2.

Apoc. 2

20.

21.

Death is either the first or the second

Actes. 2

The word *Sheol* by which S. Luke expresseth Dauids meaning

testament the place of the damned. I remitt poets & Pagans saying that word after their prophane imagination, to the allegers; in what sense the Euangelists and Apostles take it, will some appeare by their writings. ^c Vpō this Rock (saith Christ) will I build my church, & the gates ^{αδς} (of hel) shal not preuaile against it. The church doth not assure the godly, that they shall not die; but, that the gates of the ^f second death shal not hurt the. When the merciles rich man died & was buried, as wee read in the gospel of S. Luke, ^ε scripture saith ^ε *ἐν τῷ ᾧ*, & being in hel, in TORMENTS, he lift vp his eies, and saw *Abrahā* a far off, & Lazarus in his boosome. I hope the soule of this rich man, was neither in the grate, nor in paradise, but plaine in HEL, euen in the ^h PLACE OF TORMENTS, where no mercy can be shewed, nor release hoped for; and that place & state of the damned S. Luke calleth ^{αδς}, and our Santos expressing it, maketh the rich man most truly to saie; ⁱ I AM TORMENTED IN THIS FLAME; S. Iohn in his Reuelation noting the coherence of death and hell in the destruction of the wicked, saith. ^k Behold, a pale horse, and his name, that saie thereon was death, & ^{αδς} HEL FOLLOWED AFTER HIM, and power was giuen them ouer the fourth part of ^y earth. After death followeth none other death, but HEL, which is the second death, and ^y as it cometh AFTER the death of the body; so is it distinguished from the death of the bodie, because it killeth the soule for ever; and that S. Iohn calleth ^{αδς}. He doth the like in the 20. chap. of the same booke. The ^l sea (saith he) gaue vp her dead, which were in her, & death & ^{αδς} HEL deliuered vp her dead, that were in them; and death & ^{αδς} HEL were cast into ^y lake of fire; this is the second death. When our sauiour then saith, I haue ^y keies of death, ^m *κλεῖς τῶν ᾧ* & of hel, he doth not onlie mean the graues of dead bodie are subiected to his power, but the place and paines of damned soules are likewise at his disposition. And when Paule saith; O death, where is thy sting ^{αδς} o hel where is thy victory? he teacheth vs that God hath giuen vs the victory ouer DEATH AND HEL, through our Lord Iesus Christ. That victorie Christ could not make

doth alwaies
note hel in the
new testament
^a Matth. 16

¹ Reuelat. 2.

² Luke. 16

¹ Ibidem, ver. 13

¹ Ibidem, ver. 14

¹ Reuel. 6.

¹ Reuelat. 20

¹ Reuel. 1

¹ 1. Corinth. 15

us partakers of, except hee had first triumphed ouer them both in his owne person. And that victorie Christ did foresee and shew, when he said to God, thou wilt not forsake my soule (ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ θεός) in hell; (or leaue it to the power of hell;) but assist me there, and bring me thence with safetie and victory.

The church
from the be-
ginning hath
confessed
Christ's de-
scend to hell.

If my collections were not attained by the scriptures; the generall faith and confession of all the fathers in all ages and countries, since the first foundation of Christs church, should moue men that are modest, not haſtelie to leape from the vniuerſall conſent of all places, and persons grounding themſelues on the manifeſt words of the ſacred ſcriptures. To quote them all, were to increaſe another volume; I will therefore content my ſelfe with ſhewing you, how ſoone it began, and how long it continued in the church of Chriſt, to be receaued and believed as a matter of faith. Thaddæus one of the 70. diſciples, mentioned in the tenth of Luke, taught the citizens of Edessa, within ten yeares after Chriſts death, amongſt other points of faith, as Eusebius reporteth,

* Euseb. ecclesi-
ast. histor. lib. 3
cap. 13.

Quomodo (Christus) *crucifixus fuerit, & ad inferos descenderit, sepeque illam antea nunquam disruptam sciderit; resurrexerit etiam, ac mortuos qui à seculo dormierant, unā excitauerit; & quomodo solus quidem descenderit, multā vero turbā comitatus ad patrem ipsius ascenderit.* Howe Chriſt was crucified, and descended into hell, and ouerthrew the wall, which was neuer before that time broken; and roſe againe, and raiſed vp with him thoſe y had bin dead long before; & how he deſcended alone, but aſcended vp to his father with a great multitude. This report by ſome men is counted fabulous, for y the letters ſent to Chriſt and receaued from him by the ruler of that city, are no where remembred in the Euangelists: but by their leaues that reaſon is rather frivolous: for ſo much as S. Iohn ſaith; ¶ There are alſo many other things, which Ieſus did, the which if they ſhould be writtē euery one, I ſuppoſe the world could not containe the bookes, that ſhould be written. Since then this is no ſure ground to reiect a ſtoorie, for that it is not contained in
the

¶ Iohn. 21

the scriptures, I see no cause either to preiudice the publike and ancient records of the citie of Edessa, remaining at that verie time when this report was made; or to misstrust the credite of Eusebius, as if he had impudentlie forged the olde monuments of that citie, where he might so easilie bee reproued. His words are. *Habes harum rerum testimonium scriptis comprehensum, & ex Grammatophylacio urbis Edessæ tunc regia desumptum. Nam in ipsis publicis chartis, quæ res priscas continent, p̄ta adhuc usq̄ diem ex eo tempore seruata reperiuntur. Nihil autem impedit, quo minus literas ipsas, quæ nobis ex Archiuis desumptæ, & e Syrorum lingua his verbis translatae sunt audiamus.* Thou hast the testimonie of these things comprised in writing, and taken out of the chamber of Edessa, that then was a princely Citie. For in the publike recordes, of things aunciently past, thus much is there extant TO THIS VERIE DAY, preserved from the time wherein these things were done. And I thinke it best to set downe the letters, which I my selfe COPIED out of the Authentick records, and TRANSLATED from the Syrian tongue in these wordes. How the report of a writer, y^e is not canonical, should haue more credite then this hath, I know not. The records were auncient and publique, and then extant to be viewed by euery man, when Eusebius did exemplifie them. If wee discredite all antiquitie and testimonte which wee see not with our owne eyes; wee must looke to receiue the like rewarde from our posteritie. Ignatius that liued with, and after the Apostles, in his Epistle to the Church of Trallis, confesseth the same Article, almost in the same words. *καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς ἁδην μόνος*. Christ descended into Hell alone, and returned (or rose againe) with a greate number, and brake downe the rampiere that had stood from the beginning, and ouerthrewe the mid-wall thereof. Athanasius present at the great councell of Nice as a Cleargie man, though not then a Bishop, in his short recapitulation of the Catholike faith, addeth this Article, as necessarie to be be-

Euseb. ibi d.

Ignatium ad Trallianos.

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leued of all Christians. *Passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis; hac est fides Catholica quam nisi quis firmiter fideliterque crediderit, saluus esse non poterit.* Christ suffered for our saluation, descended into hell, rose againe the third day from the dead. This is the Catholike faith, which except a man doe firmelie and fastlie beleue he cannot bee saued. Saint Austen doth so presse it, that hee pronounceth it infidelitie to denie it. *Secundum animam* (Christum) *apud inferos fuisse aperte scriptura declarat, & per Prophetam promissa, & per Apostolicum intellectum satis exposita, quod dictum est, non derelinques animam meam in inferno.* That Christ according to his soule was in hell, the Scripture plainelie declareth, forespoken by the Prophet (*Dauid*) and sufficientlie expounded by the Apostles application, where it was saide, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. *Quis ergo nisi infidelis negauerit fuisse apud inferos Christum?* Who then but an infidell will denie, that Christ was in Hell? Hilarius maketh it a necessarie cause of our redemption, *Cruix, mors, inferi, salus nostra est.* Christes Crosse, death, and beeing in Hell, are the meanes of our saluation. For as hee died that wee might liue, so hee went to hell by Hilaries assertion, that wee might goe to heauen. *Christus Dei filius moritur, sed omnis caro viuificatur in Christo. Dei filius in inferis est, sed homo refertur ad calum.* Christ the sonne of God dieth, but all flesh is quickened in Christ. The sonne of God is in Hell, but man is restored to Heauen. And least wee shoulde thinke that Hilarie dreamed of Christes suffering hell paines on the Crosse, as some haue alledged him; his wordes are plaine else where, that Christes soule after death descended into hell. *Humana ista lex necessitatis est, ut sepultis corporibus ad inferos anima descendat. Quam descensionem, Dominus ad consummationem veri hominis non recusauit.* This is the lawe of mans miserie, that their bodies goe to the graue, their soules to hell: WHICH DESCENT the Lorde did not refuse, to prooue

¹ Athanas. in Symbolo.

² August. epist. 99.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Hilarius de trinitat. lib. 2.

⁵ Ibid. lib. 3.

⁶ Hilarius in Psal. 138.

prooue himselfe in euerie point to bee a true man. This necessitie was the wages of mans sinne; the strength whereof coulde none abolish but onelie Christ. ^a *Hic vnus est, aduersantes nobis inimicasque virtutes ligno passionis affigens, mortem in inferno perimens, spei nostra fidem resurrectione confirmans, corruptionem humana carnis gloria corporis sui perimens.* Christ alone was hee that fastened to the wood of his passion the powers which were aduersaries and enemies to vs; that vanquished death euen in hell; that confirmed the steadfastnesse of our hope with his resurrection, and abolished the corruption of mans flesh with the glorie of his bodie. Leo likewise. ^a *Resurrectio saluatoris, nec animam in inferno, nec carnem diu morata est in sepulchro; quoniam deitas, quae ab utraque suscepti hominis substantia non recessit, quod potestate diuinitatis, potestate coniunxit.* The resurrection of our Saviour neither stayed his soule long in hell, nor his flesh in the graue; because his Godhead which did not depart from either part of his manhood, mightilie conioyned, what it mightilie seuered.

^a Idem de trinit.
lib. 4.

^a Leo de resur.
domini, serm. 1.

But no man hath more pitie, or more soundlie belidnered the full course, and cause of Chyistes descent to Hell, then Fulgentius; which I muste repeate at large, because euerie worde is woorth the marking.

^b *Restabat ad plenum nostra redemptionis effectum, ut illuc usque homo sine peccato, à Deo susceptus descenderet, quousque homo separatus à Deo peccati merito cecidisset: id est ad infernum, ubi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, & ad sepulchrum, ubi consueuerat peccatoris caro corrumpi: fictamenq; ut nec Christi caro in sepulchro corrumpereetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur. Quoniam anima immanis à peccato non erat subdenda supplicio, & carnem sine peccato non debuit vitare corruptio. Nam quia peccans homo meruit in seipso per supplicium diuidi, quia maluit à Deo prauaricationis reatu disungi, propterea factum est, ut peccatoris mors carnem peccati ad sepulchrum corrumpendam perduceret, animam*

^b Fulgentius de
passione domini
ad Trasim. lib. 3

man

manam inferno torquendam protinus manciparet. Ut autem peccator fuisset gratuito munere liberatus, factum est, ut mortem corporis, quam à Deo iusto peccator homo pertulerat iuste, Dei filius a peccatore pateretur iniuste: & ad sepulchrum perveniret caro iusti, quousque fuerat caro deuoluta peccati: & usque ad infernum descenderet anima saluatoris, ubi peccati merito torquebatur anima peccatoris. Hoc autem ideo factum est, ut per morientem temporaliter carnem iusti, donaretur vita aeterna carni: & per descendentem ad infernum animam iusti, dolores soluerentur inferni. It remained for the full effecting of our redemption, that man assumed of God without sinne, should thither descend, whither man seuered from God fell by desert of sinne: that is, vnto hell, where the soule of the sinner was woont to bee tormented, and to the graue, where the flesh of the sinner was woont to bee corrupted; yet so, that neither Christes flesh should bee corrupted in the graue, nor his soule bee tormented with the paines of hell; because the soule free from sinne was not to be subiected to that punishment, nor flesh cleane from the contagion of sinne should suffer corruption. In so much as man sinning deserued by punishment to bee seuered from himselfe, who by his transgression would needes bee seuered from God, therefore it was appointed that the death of the sinner should bring his sinfull flesh to the graue, there to rotte; and presentlie should send his soule to hell, there to bee tormented. But when the sinner by the gift of (Gods) grace, was to bee deliuered; it was provided, that the sonne of God should vniustlie suffer at the hands of sinners the death of the bodie, which sinfull man had iustlie beene wrapped in by the iustice of God, and the flesh of the iust should come to the graue, whither sinfull flesh was tumbled: and that the SOVLE OF OVR SAVIOVR SHOULD DESCEND TO HELL, VVHERE THE SINFULL SOVLE VVAS TORMENTED FOR THE REVVARD OF SINNE. This was therefore done, that by the flesh of the iust temporally dying, eternall life might be giuen to (our) flesh, and by the soule
of

of the iust descending to hell, the torments of hell might be abolished; and so the punishment of sinners might be ended.

Out of Fulgentius I obserue two things; which if it please men to marke, they shall cleare themselves from all absurdities touching Christs descent to hell. The first is, THE PLACE, VVHITHER he descended; the next is, THE CAUSE, VVHY he descended. The place whither hee descended was hell; whither the soule of man sinning against God was adiudged for the wages of his transgression. The cause of his descent, was to free all the faithfull from the beginning of the world to the ende thereof from committing thither. And in both these, the Scriptures and fathers doe fullie concur; though some auncient writers doe swaue, and strue about Christs deliuering some from hell, that were there at the time of his descent, as they suppose. Which varietie and vncertainty of opinions concerning the state of the dead before Christs coming hath beene much entangled this question; and induced manie men of learning and iudgement otherwise, to reiect Christs descent to hell as a fable; or to twist it to another sense; with newe founde expositions. Doubtless I see no cause, but the doctrine of the Scriptures confessed by all the fathers may stande here cleare; whatsoeuer we resolve of his other assertion; touching the state of the righteous departed this life before Christs death. I will therefore shortly discusse both the place and the cause, and so draw to an end.

As for the place whither Christ descended, the Church of Rome greedily hunteth after it, to heare of her Purgatorie; hoping, whence the soules of the righteous were by Christ deliuered, there to make a stand for soules, not perfectly confessed and absolved in this life; that she maie set to sale her prayers and pardons. But if shee followe Christ descending, her deuotion must reach to the place and paines of the damned, for whither Christ descended. And so by these leaues both Scriptures and fathers enough. First, the

Christ descended to y place of the damned

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*Act. 2.

*Symbol. post.

wordes are plaine, and must bee proper, as well in the *Ca-*
non as in the *Creed*. Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell: and
he descended into hell. Against the Kingdome of Satan con-
sisteth of these three; SINNE, DEATH, and HELL. SINNE
RAIGNING, whiles the bodie and soule are ioined together;
DEATH SEVERING them both, and TURNING the
bodie to earth; HELL RECEIVING and TORMEN-
TING the soule, till the daie of iudgement, when bodie
and soule shall for euer bee cast into hell fire. If these
three bee not abolished by Christ, Satans kingdome is
not destroyed by Christ; and speciallie if hell bee not
vanquished; no part of our saluation is performed. The
worke of sinne is sweete; if the wages were not sowre,
which is hell fire. To raise our bodies from death, is
no fauour, if Hell bee not ouerthrowen; it were more
easie for them to lie in dust, then to burne in hell. Howe
hath Christ restored vs to heauen; if hee haue not yet
freed vs from Helle. He brought vs to God, if he haue
not yet taken vs from Satan. Wherefore either Hell
must bee destroyed; or wee are no waie redeemed;
And in all these, when I speake of Hell, I speake of
the place of the damned. For if the feare of damna-
tion continue; what hope of saluation can wee con-
ceiue? But the Apostle saith plainly, that Christ
through death DESTROYED HIM, that had power of
death, euen the Diuell; and DELIVERED ALL
them which for feare of death were all their life time subiect
to seruitude. If the Diuell bee DESTROYED, then
Hell is fullie conquered; for whiles that retaineth force
against the faithfull, the Diuell is in the height of his
kingdome. Neither is death to bee feared at all, but
in respect of hell following after death. If then all the
Saintes heere on earth be DELIVERED FROM THE
FEARE OF DEATH, and from the handes of all that
hate (them) to serue (God) without feare all the dayes of their
life,

*Heb. 2.

To destroy the
diuell, and to
deliuer man.

*Heb. 2.

*Luke 1.

life, in holinesse and righteousness before him; it is evident that hell is spoiled of all right and claime to the members of Christ; by reason our heade breing there in our names, and for our sinnes, brake the strength of hell, abolished the power, and loosed the sorowes and paines thereof; that they shoulde not take holde on him, nor ever after on anye of his. For as hee suffered and died, not for his owne sake, but for ours; so hee descended and loosed the sorowes of death and hell, not as provided for him, but for vs. And since to our sinnes was due damnation, and no lesser or easier punishment; it was requisite that Christ shoulde thither descende, and by dissolving the wages of our sinne in his owne person, thence deliuer vs; though not there tormented, yet thither adjudged, and so release vs, not as beeing there, but from comming thither.

Touching the place, Thaddaeus one of the seuentie taught, as wee heard out of Eusebius, that Christ descended into hell; and brake the wall that was neuer before broken. From the deade manie rose before Christs death, and therefore the partition betwixt death and life was often broken by others, before Christs resurrection; but from hell neuer returned anye, but onelye Christ; by reason that wall was neuer broken, but by the Sonne of GOD. Achanasius in like sorte. *In sua ad nostri similitudinem forma, nostram inibi depingens mortem, ut in ea resurrectionem pro nobis concinnaret, ex sepulchro quidem corpus, animam vero ex orco reducere faceret, ut in morte mortem dissolueret per exhibitionem animae, & per sepulchrum corporis in sepulchro, corruptionem aboleret; ex orco vero & sepulchro immortalitatem & incorruptionem ostendit, in forma nobis consimili viam nostram emensus, nostramque detentionem relaxans, & hoc ipsum eximij miraculi fuit.* In his likenesse to our nature (Christe) accomplishing our death, that in the same hee might performe his

Whither christ descended after death.

Athanasius de salutari aduentu Christi.

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resurrection for vs, brought his BODIE OVT OF THE GRAVE, & his SOVLE OVT OF HELL; that in death he might dissolue death by presenting his soule there, and by the buriall of his bodie, he might abolish corruption in the graue. So that euen from hell, and from the graue, hee shewed immortalitie (of the soule) and incorruption (of the body) treading the verie way that we should haue trod, in the likenesse of our nature, and releasing of our detention. And this was a marueilous wonder. When Athanasius saith, that Christ in his humane nature trodde the verie same way of death that wee should haue done; his bodie and soule going to those very places whither ours should haue gone; he doth not mean the place of rest, where the soules of the righteous were before Christs comming; but the place whither the soules of men were condemned for the sin of their first father; which is not Paradise, nor Abrahams bosome, but the place of the damned, where the true death of the soule and wages of sin are by Gods iustice inflicted. Heare his owne words. *Vbi corruptum fuerat humanum corpus, eo suum corpus proiecit Iesus; & vbi debebatur anima humana in morte, ibi exhibuit humanam suam animam, ut ipse inuictus a morte, tanquam hominem se presentem ostenderet; & solueret catenas mortis ut Deus; ut ubi seminata fuerat corruptio, inde exoriretur incorruptibilitas; & ubi regnauerat mors in forma humanae animae, ibi ipse ille mortalis praesens, immortalitatem exhiberet, atque ita nos participes redderet suae incorruptibilitatis, & immortalitatis per spem resurrectionis ex mortuis.* Where the bodie of man vsed to rot, thither Iesus cast his body: and where the soule of man was held in death, there did he exhibit his humane soule; that hee being in no wise to bee conquered by death, might both shewe himselfe there present as man; and yet break the chaines of death as God; that where corruption was sowed, thence incorruption might rise (euen from the graue;) & where death raigned ouer mens soules (which must needs be in hell) there he being present as a mortall man, might demonstrate his immortalitie; and

i Athanas. de incarnatione Christi.

to make vs partakers, of his incorruption (in flesh,) and immortallie (in soule) by the hope of resurrection from the dead.

And because Hilarius and Fulgentius doe so fullie concurre with Athanasius, that if we trulie conceiue the one, we shall easilie vnderstand the other; you shall see the same doctrine, which the other two follow, more fullie deliuered by Athanasius. ^k *Quide Ade inobedientia questionens habuit, iudicioque*

Athanasius agreeeth in this point with Hilary and Fulgentius.

^k *Athanas. ibide.*

peracto duplicem penam in sententia sua complexus erat, dum rei terrestri ita loquitur, Terra es, & in terram reuerteris, (atque ita pro decreto, domini corpus in terram abscedit;) anima dixit, morte morieris; atq; hinc est, quod homo in duas partes discerpitur, et ut ad duo loca discedat, condemnatur. Ac proinde opus fuit illo ipsa iudice, qui hoc decretum tulerat, ut ipse per se sententiam solueret sub specie condemnati, in condemnatum se suumque a peccatis ostendens, ut hominem deo reconciliaret, hominemque totum in libertatem vindicaret. Iam si mihi alium locum condemnationis prater hos duos ostendere potestis, merito hominem dixeritis tripliciter diuidi. Quod si tertium aliquem locum ostendere non potestis, PRAETER SEPVLCHRVM ET INFERNV, ex quibus plane ereptus est homo Christo assertore, per suam speciem cum nostri similitudine congruentem; cur igitur dicitis, deum nondum propitium esse? Hec that examined Adams disobedience, and in the ende of his iudgement comprised in his sentence (against Adam) a double punishment; speaking thus to the terrestriall part (of man,) earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou returne; and according to this decree, the Lords body was laid in earth; euen he said to the soule, thou shalt die the death; and thereupon man (dying) is distracted in two partes, and condemned to two places. In somuch that it was requisite, the verie same iudge, which pronounced this decree, should by himselfe dissolve this sentence in the shew of a man condemned, but yet proving himselfe to be vncondemned, and cleere from sinne, that he might reconcile man to God, and reduce the whole man to libertie. Nowe if you can name me any other place, whereto man was condemned besides these two, rightly may you thinke man

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(after death) is to be deuided into three (places;) but if you can shewe me no third place, besides the graue, (for the bodie) and hell, (for the soule,) from both which man is fullie freed, Christ deliuering him with like parts of himselfe answerable to our nature, how say you then, that God is not yet satisfied? The whole man in Adam was in such sort condemned for sinne, that his bodie returned to corruption in the earth, and his soule departed to tormentes in hell, which is the death of the soule after this life. To the verie same places whither man was condemned, & in the same partes of our nature, the sonne of G D vouchsafed to descende, that by the lying of his bodie in the earth, our bodie might at the last daie bee raised out of the earth; and by the presence of his soule in hell, on which the force of hell could not fasten, our soules might for ever be deliuered from comming thither.

¹ Hilary in Psal.
138.

This condemnation of the bodie to the graue, and of the soule to hell for sinne, is that ¹ law of humane necessity, which Hilary speaketh of, wherto the Lord Iesus submitted himself; not that his flesh should see corruption, or his soule tast of damnatio, but y^e by the presence of his body in the graue, & of his soule in hell he might shew himselfe inuincible to both, and so deliuer vs from both. ^m The archangels, powers, and principalities (in heauen) doe with vnceasing and euerlasting voices glorifie the sonne of God (saith Hilary) *quia homo natus sit, mortem vicerit, portas Inferni fregerit, coherede sibi plebē acquisiuerit, carnem in aternis aeternis gloriam ex corruptione transfulerit*; because he became man, vanquished death, brake the gates of hel, purchased vnto himselfe a people to inherit with him, and translated his flesh fro corruption to eternal glory. These two places the graue & hel, wherto sinners were aduindged to haue their bodie in the one to be corrupted, their soules in the other to be tormented, Fulgentius doth expressely pursue; as his wordes before do plainly testifie; and resolutelie concludeth, that Christs manhood for the full effecting of our redemption must SO FAR DESCEND, *quousque homo separatus a deo peccati merito*

^m Hilary de trinitatis lib. 3

ⁿ Fulgens. vs
supra.

merito cecidisset; HOW FAR MAN SEVERED FROM GOD, FEL BY THE DESERT OF SINNE; THAT IS, TO HELL, VVHERE THE SOVLE OF THE SINNER VSED TO BE TORMENTED, and to the graue where the FLESH OF THE SINNER vled to putrifie. Nowe if anie man thinke the soule of man seuered from God, did not for the wages of sinne deserue the place and paines of the damned, he had moze neede bee catechised then confuted. For since without repentance men ° perish in their sinnes; and the soule that sinneth, that soule shall die; the death of the soule after this life is no there but in hell, where bodie & soule do perishe euerlastingly. With these toime Saint Austen as touching the place. *Stin illum Abrahā sinum Christi-
stū mortuū venisse sancta scriptura dixisset, non nomina-
to inferno eiusque doloribus; miror si quisquam ut inferos eum
descendisse asserere auderet. Sed quia euidentia testimonia &
infernum commemorant & dolores, nulla causa occurrit, cur
illud credatur venisse saluatores, nisi ut ab eius doloribus saluos
faceret.* If the holie Scripture had saide, that Christ after his death came to Abrahams bosome, and not mentioned hell and the paynes thereof, I maruaile if anie woulde haue beene so bolde, as to haue aiaunted that Christ descended into hel. But for that euident testimonies do name hel, and the paines (of hel) I yet see no cause, why our Sauour should bee beleued to haue come thither, but to deliuer fro the paines thereof. Wherefore when the scriptures teach vs, y^e Christs soule was in hell; wee must not by hel mean Abrahams bosome, or Paradise, but y^e very place of the damned, where the soules of sinners are tormented. For Christ to redeeme man that was condemned for sinne, descended as lowe, as man fell by the punishment of sinne in this life or the nexte, and set vs backe from the sentence of death pronounced against vs, by presenting himselfe in our steede to the very places, that were prepared to reuenge our transgressions: his flesh resisting the power of the graue, and his soule repelling and breaking the paines

• Luke. 13.

• Ezech. 18.

• August. epi. 99

paines of hell, that neither shoulde bee able to hinder the speede of his resurrection, or weaken the worke of our redemption.

As the place whither Christ descended, is expressly named in the scriptures to be hell, and *gehena*, where the wicked are everlastingly tormented; so the purpose of his descent is plainelie professed in the same, to bee the spoiling of Satan, and deliuering of man from the power of hell. And these two are so linked together, that the one is alwaies included in the other: Christ entering Satans house to this ende, that he might divide the spoiles. First then let vs see, that the scriptures say of mans deliuerance from the hands of Satan; and after ward heare what some of the ancient writers haue thereto added, or therein doubted. The promise made in the prophet *Esay*, that God will destroye death for ever, and likewise in the prophet *Osee*; I will redeeme them from the power of hell; I will deliuer them from death: O death I will be thy death, O hell I will bee thy destruction: was not peculiar to this or that age, nor proper to those that were already dead; or then bozne when this was spoken; but generall to all the faithfull from the beginning to the ende; whereby God assured them, that hell shall bee destroyed, and Satan troden vnder fete, and death swallowed vp in victorie. Zachary John Baptistes father is the best expositor of all these promises, when he saith. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, because he hath visited, and redeemed his people. And hath raised vp an horne of saluation for vs, in the house of his seruant *Dauid*; (as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which were from the beginning) euen saluation from our enemies; and from the hand of all that hate vs. (Which was) the othe, that hee sware to our father *Abraham*, that he would cause vs; being deliuered out of the hands of our enemies, to serue him without feare in holinesse and righteousness before him all the daies of our life. The saluation which God hath wrought for vs in Christ, doth not free vs from afflictions and troubles, since all that will

The ende of
Christs descent
to hell, was the
destruction of
Satan, and de-
liuerance of
man.

¹ Esay. 25

¹ Osee. 13

¹ Osee. 13

¹ Rom. 16

¹ 1. Corinth. 15

¹ Luke. 1

¹ 2. Tim. 3

live

live godly in Christ Iesus shall suffer persecution; but it bring-
eth vs DELIVERANCE FROM OUR (ghostly) ENEMIES;
& saueth vs from the hand of al that hate (our soules); that be-
ing quieted from their power and feare, we should serue God
in holines all the time of our life. And albe it in this life, our
eyes^a are opened, that we may turne from darkenesse to light,
and from the power of Satan, to God; and receaue forgiuenesse
of sinnes, and inheritance amongst them, which are sanctified
by faith in Christ: yet the feare of death is not taken from vs,
till we be assured, that hell is conquered; and no cause leste
why we should tremble at death, that now is an entrance to
a better life.

^a Actes. 26

DELIVERANCE THEN, FROM THE HAND OF ALL
that hate vs, (which Christ hath purchased for vs,) hath in it
not onelie remission of sinnes, and resurrection from death, but
also the destruction of Satan: whereby God acquiteth vs from
the power of darkenesse, that is, from the feare of hell in this
life, and from the danger thereof in the next, and fully trans-
lateth vs into the kingdome of his deere sonne; and this deli-
uerance belongeth to all the members of Christ without ex-
ception, as well liuing, as yet vnborne. Christ (saith the A-
postle) through death^b destroyed him, that had power of death,
euen the diuell, and DELIVERED ALL THEM, which for
feare of death were al their life long subiect to bondage. If ALL
BE DELIVERED, that were oppressed with the feare of
death; then surely the liuing must needs be discharged from
the bondage of Satan; and redemption from the power of
hell, which God promised vnto his seruantes, was not pro-
per to ante that were in hell at the time of Chyristes descent,
but it was, and is extended to all the faithfull before and after
Chyristes comming, that in this life they should be secured, &
in the next saued from him, that had the power of death, and
from the gates of hell. Fulgentius teacheth this doctrine as
Catholike. ^c Sicut mortuus pro nobis; omnes nos sibi commor-

Deliueraunce
was performed
as well to the
liuing and vn-
borne, as to the
deade.

^b Hebre. 2

^c Fulgent. ad
Trafimundum.
lib. 3.

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liberavit. As (Christ) dying for vs, made vs all to die with him; so dissolving the paines of hell, he DELIVERED ALL THE FAITHFULL from the same. As all the goble, that euer were, are, or shall be, died in Christs flesh unto sinne; so all the faithfull from the beginning of the world to the end there of were deliuered from the paines of hell, by the presence and power of Christs soule breaking the strength, and loosing the sorowes of death euen in hell. And therefore hee saith, Christ called himselfe free among the dead, *ut offenderet animam suam a peccato liberam, in infernum pro nobis peccatoribus descendisse*, to shew that his soule cleere fro sinne descended into hel FOR VS SINNERS. So that Christ descended to hell FOR ALL THE FAITHFUL, and FOR VS SINNERS, to deliuer them and vs from the sorowes of the second death; and not for certaine whom he found in hell, when he came thither.

De trinitate. l. 4

Ibidem. lib. 3

St. Athanasius de satisfactione aduersus gentes Christi.

Idem de incarnatione Christi.

Ibidem.

Hilarius toponeth in the same confession, that Christ killing death in hell, confirmed the faith of OUR HOPE with his resurrection; and breaking the gates of hell, purchased a people that shoulde inherite with him. Athanasius enerte there treadeth the same steppes; teaching vs that Christ persfired his resurrection FOR vs, and out of hell and the graue brought immortalitie and incorruption, releasing OUR DETENTION. And againe, Christ brake the chaines of death as God, that where death migned ouer mens soules, there he being present as a man might demonstrate immortalitie (in his soule) and so MAKE VS PARTAKERS of his incorruption. And lastlie, where death both of soule and bodie was inflicted on man for sinne; the one in the graue, the other in hell; hee that gaue the iudgement, dissolued the sentence in his owne person, vnder the shewe of a man condemned; but in deede vncondemned, and free from sinne; that hee might reconcile MANKIND to God, and bring THE WHOLE MAN into libertie. FROM THE GRAVE THEN, AND FROM HEL MAN WAS FREED CHRIST DELIVERING HIM.

And

And least it should seeme strange, that our soules were deliuered from hel by Christs descent thither, where they neuer were; S. Austen expounding Dauids words, *Thou hast deliuered my soule frō the nethermost hell, & helweth that men may bee deliuered as well from DANGERS CONSEQUENT AS PRESENT; and as well from that which is DESERVED, as from that which is INFLICTED.* And first y^e Christ deliuered OVR SOULES from hell by his coming thither (though we were not there) his words are plaine. *Est aliud (infernum) infernus, quod eunt mortui: unde voluit deus eruere ANIMAS NOSTRAS, etiam illuc mittendo filium suum. Propterea vox eius est in illo psalmo, non quoquam homine conijciente, sed Apostolo exponente, ubi ait: quoniam non dereliquisti animam meam in inferno. Ergo aut ipsius vox est hic, et eruiisti animam meam ab inferno inferiori, aut nostra vox est per ipsum christum dominum nostrum, quia ideo ille peruenit usque ad infernum, ut nos REMANEREMUS in inferno.* There is a lower hel, whither y^e dead go; whēce it pleased God to deliuer OVR SOULES, by sending his son thither. Therefore those are Christs words in y^e psalme, not by mā's coniecture, but by the Apostles exposition, where he saith; y^e hast not left my soule in hel. So y^e this verse, *Thou hast deliuered my soule frō the nethermost hel,* is either the voice of Christ in this psalm, or it is our voice in the person of Christ our Lord, because he therefore went to hell, LEAST VVE SHOULD ABIDE (for euer) IN HEL. And to proue this speech to be vsuall y^e we are deliuered from the dangers & places in which we neuer were, but should haue bin, if wee had not bin saued thence; hee addeth.

Reſte dicit medicus, liberaſti me ab agitudine, non in qua iam eras, ſed in qua futurus eras. Mittendus erat (quis) in carcerem: venit alius defendit eum; gratias agens, quid dicit? eruiſti animam meam de carcere. Suspendendus erat debitor; ſolutum eſt debitum pro eo; liberatus dicitur de ſuſpendio. In his omnibus non erant, ſed quia talibus meritis agebantur, ut, niſi ſubuentum eſſet, ibi eſſent, inde ſe recte dicunt liberari, quo per liberatores ſuos non ſunt permiſſi perducī. Thou ſayeſt rightlie to

We are deliuered, not from being in hell but from coming thither. ¹ Plal. 85.

¹ Auguſt. in Plal. 85.

= Ibidem.

thy physicia, you haue deliuered me fro this sicknes, not in which thou wast, but into which thou wast like to fall. A man is about to be cast into prison; another cometh and rescueth him. What saith he when he giueth thanks? you deliuered me out of prison. A debtor was in danger to be hanged; the debt is paid for him, he is said to be deliuered from hanging. In all these things, they were not; but because such were their desertes, that vnlesse they had beene holpen, they had fallen into them, THEY RIGHTLY MAY SAY THEY WERE DELIVERED thence, VVHITHER THEY WERE NOT SVFFERED TO COME, by those that deliuered them. Tertullian declining to Montanisme in his booke de anima, and defending the soules of al the faithful after Christs comming to be kept, apud Inferos, in the region of hell till the daie of iudgement, saue of martyrs, to whome onely he opened Paradise, confesseth the other side, which in deed were true christians, made this obiection against him. *"Sed in hoc, inquit, Christus inferos adiit, ne nos adiremus. Ceterum quod discrimen ethnicorum & christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem?"* But to this end, they say, Christ went to hell, that we should not come thither. For what difference between the Ethnicks and Christians, if after death they be both in one prison? So that in all ages this doctrine was preserved in the church, which the scriptures doe warrant, that Christ by his death destroyed the devil, and deliuered all the goble from the feare, not of the first death, which they cannot auoide, and need not to feare; but of the second death in hell, which is iustlie to be feared, and can no way be prevented, but by the power of that redemption, which we haue in Christ Iesus.

*Tertullian. de anima, cap. 33

Where the soules of the righteous were before Christs comming, is nothing to this question.

[But all the fathers with one consent affirme, that Christ deliuered the soules of the patriarchs & prophets out of hel, at his comming thither; and so spoiled Satan of those, & were in his present possession.] The doctrine of Christs descending into hel to saue al his mebers from coming thither, must not be confounded with this disputation, whether & soules of the prophets

prophets and Patriarks were before Christs resurrection in hell or no; but what soener we determine or imagine of this later question, the other position standeth vncontrolled, both by Scriptures and fathers: yet for thir sakes, that happilie maye stumble at this block, I will not reſtaine to ſpeake what I thinke of this aſſertion; ſo as I bee firſt allowed to ſay with ſaint Auſten. *Quod dicimus fratres, hoc ſi non vobis tanquam certus expoſuero, ne ſuccenſeatis. Homo enim ſum, & quantum conceditur de ſcripturis ſanctis, tantum audeo dicere, nihil ex me. Infernum nec ego expertus ſum adhuc, nec vos; & forſaſſis alia via erit, & non per infernum erit. Incerta ſunt enim hec.* That which (in this queſtion) I ſay brethren, if I can not auouch it as certaine, you muſt not bee offended. I am but a man, and what I am aſſured by the Scriptures, that I dare affirme, and of my ſelfe nothing. Hell neither I have yet experience of, neither you; and perchance there ſhall bee another way, and by hell it ſhall not bee. For theſe things are altogether vncertaine. The things after this life God will not haue particularlie knowne vnto vs, whiles here we liue; and therefore to make ſodaine reſolutions of them, can haue neither certaintie nor ſafetie; yet ſo much as the ſcriptures reueale, we muſt neceſſarilie beleue, and may boldly profeſſe without any danger.

Touching the ſtate of the dead in the olde Teſtament, I ſee a number of ancient writers incline to this concluſion, that the ſoules of the righteous before Chriſtes death and deſcent were in hell; but as the foundation of their opinion is verie weak, ſo the conſequents are plainlie contradicted, both by Scriptures and fathers. This aſſertion firſt grew from the confeſſion of the Patriarks and Prophets, that they muſt after this life, DESCEND TO SHEOL; which the Septuagint doe alwayes expreſſe by the worde *ΕΙΝΟΣ*, and the Latine interpreter, by *Infernus*; whereupon the fathers both Greeke and Latine ſuppoſed the ſaints in the old Teſtament departing hence DESCENDED TO

August. in psal.
89.

The reason
why the fathers
thought they
were in hell.

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HELL; But the signification of the worde Sheol is so manifestlie mistaken, that it is nowe no great matterie to finde the foile. When Iacob saith, ^p I will go downe to sheol mourning to my sonne; and againe, ^q You will bring my gray haire with sorrow vnto Sheol; and likewise Iob; ^r Sheol is my house; oh that thou wouldest hide me ^t in Sheol till thine anger were past; as also Dauid, ^u what man lineth, that shall deliuer his soule from the hand of Sheol? And lastly ^v Ezechias, I shal go to the gates of Sheol: If by Sheol in these places wee vnderstand hell, as some Greeke and Latine interpreters and writers haue done; we must needes confesse the faithfull dying in the former Testament descended into hell; but if wee take Sheol for the graue, where life endeth and the bodie lieth; then make they no kind of prose, that the soules of the godly before Christs comming, were in hel, but only that their bodies were in the graue, of which there was neuer any question amongst christians or pagans.

Powe that Sheol in the Scriptures noteth as well the graue where mens bodies putrifie, as the place where the soules of the wicked are after this life detained and punished, to him that considereth the circumstances of these and other such places, will soon appeare. The words of king Ezechiah at large are these. ^x I said in the cutting off of my daies, I shall goe to the gates of Sheol, I am deprived of the residue of my yeares. I saide, I shall not see the Lord in the land of the liuing; I shall see man no more amongst the inhabitants of the worlde. I haue cutte my life in sunder like a weauer. Here is a full description of death, not of hell; and least wee shoulde dreame, that both are linked together, in the end hee saith; ^y Sheol can not confesse vnto thee, neither can death praise thee, nor they that descende into the pitte, trust in thy truth; but the liuing, the liuing, hee shall confesse thee, as I doe this day. It is manifest impietie to saie that the soules of the Saints departed did neither CONFESSE, NOR PRAISE GOD, NOR TRUST

IN

^p Gen. 37.

^q Gen. 42.

^r Iob. 17.

^t Iob. 14.

^u Psal. 89.

^v Esai. 38.

Sheol signifieth as well the graue as hell,

^x Esay. 38.

^y Ibid. ver. 18.
 & 19.

IN HIS TRUTH: but in the grave where the bodie wanteth sense and life, this is most true, which Ezechias delivereth, and confirmed by the holie Ghost in diuerse places of the Scriptures. * In death there is no remembrance of thee (saith Dauid to God) and in Sheol who shall confesse (or praise) thee? The soules of iust and perfect men did then most praise GOD, when they were loosed from the warfare of this life; therefore they were not in Sheol; for in Sheol none shall confesse vnto God, nor trust in his truth. ^a The dead praise not the Lord, nor all that goe downe into silence. DEATH, SILENCE, and SHEOL, are taken for one and the same thing; and in none of these is God praised, or confessed. And what can bee plainer then that Dauid saith in the 141. Psalme? ^b Our bones lie scattered at the mouth of Sheol, as chippes hewed on the earth. Their bones I trust lay not scattered at the mouth of hell, but at the mouth of their graves, where their bodie were buried. Iob in like maner; ^c though I hope, yet Sheol must bee mine house, I shall take vp my bedde in darkenesse. I shall say to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worme, thou art my mother, and my sister. Darkenesse, corruption, and the worme are the partes of Sheol; and these consume the bodie; they waste not the soule. Salomon shall seale vp this inquisition, where hee saith; ^d All that thine hande is able to doe; dispatch it in thy strength; for there is neither VVORKE, nor THOUGHT, nor KNOWLEDGE, nor VVISEDOME in SHEOL whither thou goest. If the soules of the righteous neither DOE, nor THINKE, nor KNOWE any thing, they bee surelie a sleepe, and neither in toy nor paine; but if this bee absurde and wicked to affirme either of hell, heauen, paradise, or of Abrahams bosome, then certainlie SHEOL, where none of these things are, is THE GRAVE; and there it is euident, all these thinges are wanting. Since then without question Sheol signifieth as well the grave,

^a Psal. 6.^b Psal. 117.^c Psal. 141.^d Iob. 17.^e Eccles. 9.

grave, where the bodie lieth dead and rotten, as the place where the soules of vniust and sinfull men are kept and tormented; if in the wordes of the Patriarkes and Prophets, confessing they must go to Sheol, we vnderstand the grave, which indeede they ment; there is no shew in the scriptures, that the faithfull before Christs death went to hell, as some fathers haue collected out of these and such like sayings of the godlie before Christs birth; but rather the places that mention their state after death, do evidently import the contrarie.

The Church of
the Iewes
thought the
soules of the
righteous to
be in peace,
Sapient, ca. 3.

The booke of Wisedome, though it be not Canonically; yet doth it shewe what opinion the Church of the Iewes had of the soules of the righteous departed this life; and how much some ancient writers were deceiued in this their persuasion, that the spirites of the Patriarks and Prophets were in hell at the time of Christs descent thither. The soules of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. They seemed in the eyes of the vnwise to die, and their ende was counted miserie, and their departure hence destruction; but they are in peace. For though in the sight of men they were punished, yet their hope is full of immortallitie. They were nourished in some fewe things, but they shall bee rewarded in greate things, for God tried them, and sounde them meeete for himselfe. Hee prooued them as gold in the fornace; and receiued them, as the fruites of a perfect offering. In the time of their visitation, they shall shine, and iudge the Nations, and raigne ouer peoples, and he that is Lord ouer them shall raigne for euer. They that trusted in him, shall vnderstande the truth, and the faithfull shall remaine in his fauour; for grace and mercie is with his Saints, and a due regard had of his elect. The soules of the righteous, before Christs comming were in peace, euen in Gods hande, receiued as a perfect offering. Grace and mercie was with them, and a spectall fauour towardees them, no torments did touch them. If this were hell, what greater

greater joy and blisse coulde they haue in Paradise? And this is in effect the vertie same, that David hoped for, when hee saide, God shal deliuer my soule from the power of Sheol; for he will receiue me, Selah.

¹Psal. 119.

And if this bee not plaine enough, our Saviour in his life time described Abraham to be & farre about the place of torment, and Lazarus in his bosome; and so huge a distaunce betwixt, that there was no passing from the one to the other; yea the thiese was the same date that Christ died in Paradise; and yet our Saviour raysed noz reduced none from Hell, by their owne confession, till the thirde daie, that hee rose from the deade. If Abraham were not in hell, noz Lazarus, that laie in his bosome; if the riche man woulde haue his siue brethren warned, least they came into that place of torment; how can it bee true, that the Prophets, and Patriarkes were in hell; when Christ descended, and not thence deliuered, but by his resurrection? Saint Austens collection vpon Abrahams bosome, is woozth the hearing.

¹Luke 16.
Christ himselfe placed y^e soules of the righteous far about hell in comfort.

¹August. cpi. 99

dunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam Sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, & domui eius, Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob, alijsque Patriarchis & Prophetis, ut cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus soluerentur. Sed quoniam modo intelligatur Abraham, in cuius sinum pius ille pauper susceptus est, in illis doloribus fuisse, EGO QUIDEM NON VIDEO: explicant fortasse qui possunt. Solos autem duos, id est Abraham & Lazarum in illo memorabilis quietis sinu fuisse, antequam Dominum in inferna descenderet; & de ipsis tantum duobus dictum fuisse illi diuiti; Inter vos & nos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut ij qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint, neque inde huc transmeare; nescio utrum QVISQVAM SIT, CVINON VIDEATVR ABSVRDVM. Porro si plures quam duo ibierant, QVIS AVDEAT DICERE non ibi fuisse Patriarchas & Prophetas, quibus in Scripturis Dei iustitie pietatisque tam insigne testimonium perhibetur?

Quid ergo is prestiterit, qui dolores soluit inferni, in quibus illi non fuerunt, nondum intelligo; praesertim quia ne ipsos quidem inferos uspiam Scripturarum locis in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam legitur, non utique finis ille Abrahae, id est secreta cuiusdam quietis habitatio; aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est; quanquam in his ipsi tanti magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, Inter nos & vos chaos magnum firmatum est, SATIS UT OPINOR APPARET, non esse quandam partem & quasi membrum inferorum tanta felicitatis finem.

Some adde that this benefite was yeilded vnto the Saintes of the olde Testament, *Abel, Seth, Noe* and his familie, *Abraham, Isaac,* and *Iacob*, and to the rest of the Patriarkes and Prophets, that when Christ came to hell, they were deliuered from those paines there. But how *Abraham*, into whose bosome that godlie poore *Lazarus* was receiued, can bee imagined to haue beene in these paines, I for my part doe not see, let them DECLARE IT THAT CAN. But that onely two, *Abraham* and *Lazarus*, were in that bosome of memorable rest, before the Lorde descended to hell; and that it was said of these two onellie, *betwixt you and vs is a mightie gulfe settled*, (so that such as would goe from hence to you, can not; nor anie that would come from you to vs,) I knowe not whether there be anie man, to whom IT SEEMETH NOT ABSVRD. And if there were mo then two, VVHO DARE SAY, the Patriarkes and Prophets were not there, to whom the worde of God giueth so great testimonie of righteousnessse and godlinesse? What benefite hee did them, by loosing the paines of hell, in which they were not, I yet vnderstande not; speciallie since I cannot finde the name of *Inferi* (or hell) in any place of scripture vsed for any good. The which if it bee no where in the diuine authoritie to be read, then surely the bosome of *Abraham* which is an habitation of secret rest, is not to be thought any part of hell; albeit in the verie wordes of so great a teacher (as *Christ* is) where he maketh *Abraham* say, *betwixt you and vs there is a mightie distance established*, it is euident enough, as I thinke,

that

that the bosome of so great happiness is no part nor member of hel.

Saint Austen examineth the opinion of some ancient writers, that Christ descended to hell to deliuer þ patriarks, prophets, and the righteous of the old testament thence, & not onely refuseth, but after his maner mildly refuseth that fan-
The summe of S. Austens collections out of the 16. of saint Luke.

The summe of
S. Austens col-
lections out of
the 16. of saint
Luke.

which had possessed many of the fathers before him. Out
 of Christs words in the 16. of Luke he derieth two conclu-
 sions; one that Abrahams bosome was a place of REST AND
 HAPPINES, or as the scripture speaketh, OF COMFORT;
 and consequently not of paine or torment, as was hell; the
 other, that BETWIXT THEM IS AN HVGE DISTANCE,
 so that by no meanes Abrahams bosome can be taken to bee
 ANY PART OR MEMBER OF HELL. Out of the princi-
 ples of diuinitie he derieth two other positions, the first, that
 Abrahams bosome was not made for Lazarus onelie; which is
 so absurd, that he thinketh no man will be so foolish as to em-
 brace it. Abrahams bosome must be open to the rest of his
 children, which did the workes of their father Abraham, as
 well as to Lazarus; with God is no respect of persons; and
 From the East and West shall come manie, and sit downe
 with Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, in the kingdome of heauen,
 saith our Sauiour. The second is, that if more besides A-
 braham and Lazarus were in that bosome of rest, the Pro-
 phets and Patriarks, must needs be there, who for fidelitie
 and pietie are commended by the witnesse of Gods spirite,
 and placed in the foundation of the Church with the Apo-
 stles next the heade corner stone, as ^k HOLIE MEN OF
 GOD, inspired and moued by the holie ghost. These deduc-
 tions being sound and sure, whereof there can bee no doubt,
 it is certaine, Christ went not to hell to fetch the Patriarkes
 and Prophets thence, for they were not there; but in Abra-
 hams bosome, which was an habitation of REST, COM-
 FORT AND BLISSE; so farre distant from the place of tor-
 ment, that by no meanes it coulde bee a PART OR
 MEMBER THEREOF.

i Mar.8.

¹ 2. Pet. I.

S. Austens co-
lecture that
some were de-
livered out of
hell is varie
weake.

[But Austen himselfe saith, hee doubteth not, but Christ delivered some from the paines of hell at his descent thither.] Saint Austen refelleth the received opinion of others before him, that Christ descended to hell, to deliver thence the Patriarkes and Prophets that were there detained; and addeth, that because he then presentlie sawe no cause why Christ should descend, but to saue from the paines of hell; he doth not doubt, but Christ delivered some fro thence. But when he commeth to make proof for this his opinion, he saith, and saith, the words of Peter, that Christ loosed the paines of hell, may bee taken in that sense; and that Adam was then loosed, ALMOST the whole church consented. Notwith both these proofs are no more then probable, & scant so much; and therefore they compell no man to receive S. Austens conjecturall inclination; but leave vs at libertie, as wel to examine his reasons, as to suspend our iudgements, till we see stronger & better motives to induce our consent. For touching Peters wordes, himselfe confesseth they may bee referred to Christ. *Quod scriptum est in morte Christi factum, solutis doloribus inferni, vel ad ipsum potest intelligi pertinere, quod eos hactenus soluerit, hoc est irritos fecerit, ne ab eis ipse teneretur, praesertim quia sequitur, in quibus impossibile erat teneri EVM: vel sic causa queritur cur ventre voluerit in infernum, ubi dolores illi essent, quibus omnino teneri non poterat; hoc quod scriptum est, solutis doloribus inferni, non in omnibus, sed IN QUIBUSDAM ACCIPI POTEST, quos ille dignos ista liberatione iudicavit.* What the Scripture saith was performed in the death of Christ, THE PAINES OF HELL BEING LOOSED, may either bee vnderstoode to pertaine to Christ himselfe, that hee loosed, that is, frustrated those paines from taking anie holde of him; speciallie whereas it followeth, (in the Text) OF WHICH PAINES IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE HEE SHOULDE BE HELDE: or if wee aske for the cause, why he would come to hell, where those paines were which could take no hold of him; these words (loosing the paines of hell) may bee

*1. August. epist.
99.*

bee taken not of all, but of some, whome he thought worthy to be deliuered. Either way these wordes make nothing to S. Austens supposition, that some were in the paines of hell, when Christ did thence deliuer them. For if we applie them to Christs person, which in deede S. Peter doth, they note that Christ brake before him the strength of hell, when he approached to his resurrection. If wee refer them to mans belief, rance thence, that Christ in our names and for our safetie loosed the sorrowes of hell; this will ayde, wee should haue gone to hell, if Christ had not saued vs thence; but that wee were there, it no way pponeth. For hee deliuered all his, as wel liuing, and not then boone, as dead, from all the right and claime that hell had to them; and as hee were deliuered, not from being there, but from coming thither, so the dead might bee acquitted and assured from the challenge that hell had to them, though they were then in rest, and in hope of Christs coming to performe their expectation; and perfit their redemption from the power of hell.

As for the consent of the whole church **ALMOST**, since Austen himselfe leadeth vs to dislike the opinion of all the fathers **ALMOST**, that the soules of the righteous were in hell before Christs descent thither; hee openeth the way for vs to aske how the church came, by what perswasion, whether by scripture, or by Tradition: Scripture there is none extant for Adam, more then for all other men. Tradition for things done in hell, where no man liuing was present, can none bee pretended. The testimonie, which Austen alleageth out of the booke of Wisdom, maketh rather against that position, then for it. (Wisdom.)^m kept the first man that was alone created, even the father of the world; and **ERASED HIM OUT OF HIS SINNE**, and gaue him power to gouerne all things. That wisdom brought Adam out of his sinne; is here affirmed, but whether by chastisement and repentance in this life, or by deliuerance out of hell after this life, is neither is specified, the first is rather to be receaued. For God

How y church might beleue Adams bandes were loosed in hell by Christs descent.

^m Sapient. 10.

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both by punishing Adams offence, and by offering him grace in the promises made, did make way for repentance; yet the whole life of Adam was nothing else but the meditation of his fall; but that Christ set him from hell, when he descended thither, canne by no rules of religion be warranted. Indeed Christ went to hell to loose the bands of Adams sinne; and so the church might well beleue and profess: For the guilt of Adams transgression, and roote of Adams corruption, brought vs all to be iustly condemned to hell, but that the death of Christ reconciled vs againe to God by the remission of our finnes; and the personall descent of our Saviour loosed all the bandes, and brake all the chaines of darkenesse that were prouided for vs; and so freed Adam and his offspring from the power and paines of hell: In this the whole church might consent, that Adams sinne was released; and Adams bandes loosed by Christs descent to hell; but other tradition; that soules were in hell, and thence deliuered at Christs redeeming; as it was altogether unknowne to men on earth; and consequentlie most uncertaine, so is it rather presumptuous to define, then religious to beleue. And least I should seeme to be led with the spirit of contradiction, to refuse both the tradition of the church; and opinion of the fathers, I will plainelie shew, what causeth me to consent to neither. First in these secret and unknowne things; no mans assertion is to be trusted without the witness of the scriptures; and forsomuch as is expessed vnto vs in the word of God, it rather crosseth, then sauieth this assertion of the fathers. Next the ancient writers here in doe not onelie varie, one from another, but even from themselves; to manifest that they had no settled truth; but some conjectures, and those were slender in these hidden matters. Touching the soules of the righteous departed this life before Christs death; to omit the place of the booke of Wisdome already recited; which expresselie gainesayeth this supposall

From hel was
no release, by
the doctrine of
our Saviour.

of the fathers, that the soules of the iust were both in hell and in torment: there is nothing exactly reuealed vnto vs in the scriptures that are canonicall, till we come to the end of S. Lukes gospell, where our Saviour by the parabollicall historie of the wicked rich man and the goodlie Lazarus teacheth vs, what became of them both after their deathea; and consequentially what was the state of all the deade before his time; to wit, that they were either CARRIED BY ANGELS TO ABRAHAMS BOSOME, OR PUNISHED IN THE FLAMES OF HELL. These two places, as they bee farre distant the one from the other, both in SECTIVATION AND CONDITION, the one being full of comfort, the other of torment; so in this they agree, that there coulde bee no ALTERATION in either. The rich man in hell coulde neither obtaine anye meanes to bee refreshed, no not a drop of water to coole his heate; nor expect anye time to bee released. Our Saviour maketh Abraham to say to the rich man, which must needs be true, * between you and vs there is settled a great gulfe, (or mightie distance,) so that they which would go from hence to you cannot, NEITHER CAN THEY COME FROM THENCE TO vs. After this life there was no changing of places, and namelie from hell there was no release. This our Saviour taught for a resolute trueth in his life time; howe then coulde the soules of the iust bee released and reduced from hell by his descent? If Abraham and Lazarus were not in hell, but in a place of rest and comforte farre distant from hell, howe then were all the righteous before Christs time not onlie in hell, but in the sorowes and paines of hell: yea the son of God with his owne mouth so often in the new testament expressing the fire of hel to be * vnquenchable; and the worme there neuer to die, how dare we without any warrant of the word of God, first to bring al h soules of the righteous before Christ, from Abrahams bosome to hell, and then to deliuer them thence without anye witness of the holie scriptures:

* Luke. 16

* Mark. 9;

p Mark. 9.

scriptures. With one breath our Saviour both thrice pronounce in the gospel of Marke that in hell, neither the fire quencherh, nor the worme dieth; and presume wee to quench the one, and kill the other without any scruples.

[But the scripture saith, the soules of the Patriarkes and Prophets were in hell; and there to leaue them after Christs descent, were eneralastinglie to condemne them.] The translators mistooke the word Sheol, calling that hel, which indeed was the graue, where the bodies of all the iust both before and after Christ were laid; but the teacher of all truth, whose doctrine was by no meanes may distrust, placeth Abraham in rest, and maketh his bosome a receptacle for the soules of the righteous; and therefore we may strue about we;ds if we list, but we must leaue the spirits of iust and perfit men before Christs coming, that place, which Christ, teaching here on earth, assured vs, was assigned them of God. And since by the doctrine of our Saviour they were not in hell, it is more then manifest, he did not fetch them thence by his descending thither.]

The fathers varie touching the place of the soules departed before Christs coming.

¹ De anima, ca.

55.

² In Psal. 48.

concio, 13.

³ In Eccle. cap. 9

⁴ In Epistol. ad Rom. cap. 5.

As for the supposall of the fathers, that Abraham, Iacob, Samuel, and David, with the rest of the Patriarks and prophets were in hell; it were easie to shew their varieties, & contrarieties, if I toke pleasure to discover their weakenesse. So Austen in his 99. Epistle to Euodius, and his 12. booke de genesi ad literam. cap. 33. exactly contradiceth the opinion of ¹ Tertullian, ² Basil, ³ Hierom, ⁴ Ambrose, that Abraham & the rest of the Patriarks and Prophets were in hell; & proueth that Abrahams bosome must not be thought to be any part or member of hell. In his 37. Epistle to Dardanus hee saith, non facile dixerim; I cannot readily pronounce. In his 20. booke de ciuitate dei. cap. 15. he saith, non absurde credi uidetur, antiquos etiam sanctos, apud inferos fuisse, it seemeth no absurdity to beleue, that the Saints of the olde testament were in hell; vntill the blood of Christ and his descent to those places did deliuer them. And thus he either some times spared the credites of those

those that were before him, or else by writing hee so profited,
that where at first he doubted or yielded to others, at last he
resolved the contrarie upon the bewe examining the wordes
of our Saviour. Tertullian likewise in his booke *de anima*
saith, *Habes de paradiso à nobis libellum, quo constitimus, om-*
nem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem iudicii. We have
written a booke touching paradise, where wee defende that all
soules are kept in hell vntill the day of iudgement. And spea-
king namelis of Abrahams bosome; *Omnes ergo anima pe-*
nes inferos, inquit? velis ac nolis, & supplicia iam illic & refri-
geria, habes pauperem, & diuitem. Cur enim non putes animam
& puniri & foueri in inferis? Are al soules then in hell, you wil
aske? will you, will you; you shall finde there punishments,
and refreshments; as in *Lazarus*, and the rich man. And why
shoulde you not thinke that the soule may bee both tormented,
and comforted in hell? and yet in his fourth booke against
Marcion, hee contradicteth that false position, and comineth
soundly to the truth. *Aliud inferi, vepulo, aliud quoque sinus*
Abraha. Nam & magnam ac intercedere regiones istas profun-
dam, & transitum vtrinque prohibere. Sed nec alienasset diues
oculos, & quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora, & de altitudi-
nis longinquo, per immensum illam distantia sublimitatis & pro-
funditatis. Eam quoque regionem sicut dico Abraha, etsi non ce-
lestem sublimiorem tamen Inferis. He is one thing, as I thinke;
and Abrahams bosome is another. For (Abraham) sayeth a
great depth is betweene these two regions, and suffereth none
to passe to and fro. Neither could the rich man haue lift vp his
eies, but vnto places aboue him, and far aboue him, by reason
of the infinite distance betwixt that heigh, and that depth. That
region then, I call Abrahams bosome, which though it bee not
heauen, yet is it higher then hell. Ambrose after the same ma-
ner, sometimes saith, that Abraham was, *(apud inferos)*
in hell; sometimes againe, that *Lazarus* in Abrahams
recumbens, vitam carperat eternam. *Lazarus* lying in Abra-
hams bosome, enioied euerlasting life; and hard it is, that eter-

^a Cap. 55.

^a Idem, cap. 58

^a Idem contra
Marcion, lib. 4

^a In Epist. ad
Rom. cap. 5

^a In Psal. 118
serm. 3

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naill life should be in hell. In the one and the same chapter he alloweth the perswasion of the heathen, ^b *quod anime liberata de corporibus cōsue pererent, id est, locum qui non videtur, quē locum Latine Infernum dicimus*: that soules departed from their bodies did go to *videtur*, that is, to an invisable place, which in latine is called hell; and also the assertion of true religion, y^e the ^b graue was the receptacle of the body only, *animarū autē superiora esse habitacula, scripturæ testimonijs valde probatur*; But y^e mansions of the soules are above, as may easily be proved by y^e testimonies of scripture. These are the habitacōs of which Christ said, there are ^c many mansions with his father. But I take no delight in robering their overights, it will suffice that with one consent, they make Abrahams bosome a receptacle for all the iust; and the place of torments, where the rich man was, a prison for the wicked; calling the one hell, and confelling the other to be the fruition of rest and happinesse after this life.

^d They that depart this world by death are according to their deeds & deserts bestowed (saith Origen) *in locū, qui dicitur Infernus, alij in sinū Abrahæ*, some to y^e place which is called hel, others to Abrahams bosome. *Omnes qui partem habent Abrahæ, & virtutū eius similes esse meruerunt, requiescunt in sinu eius*. Al that have Abrahā for their father, and obtained to be like him in virtues rest in his bosome, saith Ieron. *In sinu Abrahæ sinū requiescere leguntur, quod in eum gratia, in eius requie, in eius placiditate requiescunt, qui conformē ei fidē induerunt, et eandem in bonis operibus fecerunt voluntatem*. The iust (saith Ambrose) are said to rest in Abrahams bosome, because they rest in like favor, in like ease, in like contentation, which p^{er}son like faith to Abrahā, and followed his exāple in wel doing. And therfore he speaketh esse libens to Abrahā. *Expande sinū tuū, ut plures suscipias, quia plurimi in deū crediderunt*. Open wide thy bosome to receave mo, because many have beleueed in God. *Extendis David spes suas ad infinitam perennitatis aetate, nec concluditur mortis occasu quā sciāt sibi in Abrahā sinibus exemplo pauperis Lazari*

^b Ambros. de bono mortis. ca. 10.

^c Iohn. 14

The soules of the righteous were in Abrahams bosome by the confession of the fathers.

^d Orig. *περί ἀρχαῶν*.

^e Hieron. in. E. sey. cap. 65.

^f Ambros. in Psal. 38

^g Idem de bono mortis cap. 12.

^h Hilari. in Psal. 51.

Lazarus esse viuendum: Dauid stretcheth out his hope to infinite eternity, & endeth it not with y^e fal of death, knowing y^e he should liue in Abrahams bosome, as did that poore Lazarus, saith Hilary. Neither Dauid onely, but all the faithfull were, and still are kept in Abrahams bosome, as Hilary thinketh, vntill the day of iudgement.

Exonantes de corpore ad introitum illū regni celestis, per custodiā domini fideles omnes reseruantur: in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quō adire impios interiectum chaos inibet, quousque introeundū rursus in regnum celorum tempus adueniat; All the faithfull departing this life, shall bee reserved in the Lords keeping, for that entrance into the kingdom of heauen, placed the meane while in *Abrahams* bosome, whether the gulfe betweene will not suffer the wicked to come, till the time approch that (the gosp^l) shal enter into the kingdom of heauen. This time of entring into the kingdom of heauen, he maketh to be the day of iudgement.

*Excipit (impios) statim vltor infernus: & decedentes de corpore, si ita vixerunt, confestim de via iusta peribunt. Testes nobis sunt Euangelij diues et pauper, quorum vnum, angeli in sedibus beatorum, & in Abrahæ sinu locauerunt, alium statim regio pena suscipit. Nihil illic dilationis aut moræ est. Iudicij enim dies, vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna, vel pena: Tempus vero mortis habet interceptum vniūquemq; suis legibus, dū ad iudiciū vniūquemq; aut Abrahæ reseruat aut pena. Hel, as a reuenger, presently taketh the wicked, and they leauing this body, according to their liues, do forthwith perish fro the right way. The rich and poore man in the gosp^l, do serue vs for witnesses, wherof the one was caried by the Angels, INTO THE SEATES OF THE BLESSED, & placed in *Abrahams* bosome; the other the region of punishment did straightway sease on. No delai or stay may there be looked for. The day of iudgment bringeth with it the reward of eternal blisse, or paine: but the very time of death in the mean season supiecteth all men to these lawes, that either *Abraham* or hell paines detaineth euery soule vnto iudgement. These*

Father & son tesse, that all the iust, as well before Christs

resurrection

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resurrection as after, were and are still in Abrahams bosome, and there shall continue till the daie of iudgement. Howe then could either Abrahams bosome be in hell, or the Saintes of the olde testament be thence deliuered by Christes descent; since they remaine still in Abrahams bosome, as these fathers write; and so shall do, to the end of the worlde. If Abrahams bosome were in hell, being deliuered from hell, they must needes bee deliuered likewise from Abrahams bosome. If they be still in Abrahams bosome, then were they neuer deliuered thence; and that being in hell, as some fathers would haue it, the iust of both testamentes are still in hell; and so none were deliuered thence by Christes descending thither.

[But the calling vp of Samuel by the Witch at Endor, promoueth Samuel & so the rest of the prophets there in hell. For she saw him ascending vp out of the earth, & he saide to Saul To morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me. Now that Saul being a reprobate, and killing himselfe, should bee in Abrahams bosome, it was not possible. Since then Samuel and Saul after death were both in one place, and that place was beneath in the earth, it is likelier that Samuel was in hell with Saul, till he were deliuered thence, then that Saul was in Abrahams bosome with Samuel.] The raising vp of Samuel after his death by the Witch, hath moued much question in the church of God, whether it were Samuel in death that rose and spake, or whether it were the diuell transforming himselfe into the likeness of Samuel, to daunt Saul into despair. And albeit the matter may be largely disputed on either side, yet neither opinion will infer that Samuels soule was in hell; which is the point we haue in hand. That it was not Samuel himselfe which appeared, but the Witches familiar spirit in his likeness, these reasons proualle with mee. First; neither by Witches nor Diuels could the soules of the Saintes bee commanded, or disquieted from their places, where they are in rest and peace. Secondly, we are assured, by the doctrine of our Saviour, that God will sende none from the dead to instruct the liuing: yea all such conference

¶ 1. Samuel. 18.
Whether the
soule of Samuel
were in hell,
or no.

Reasons to
proue it was
an illusion of
the Diuel.

¶ Luke 16.

is prohibited & pronounced abominable by the law of God; ^{Deut. 18.} not that the dead can arise or aduise the living; but because the diuell vnder that colour should not delude and abuse the people of God. Thirdly, that which appeared receiued adoration at Saules hands, which the Angel refused at S. Johns; and the soule of Samuel neither might, nor would haue accepted. Fourthly, Saul for saken & reiected of God, could not after death rest in the same place with Samuel the elect and approued seruant of God. Lastly, the fathers doe for the most part resoluē, it was an illusion of Satan to strike Saul into desperation.

Terullian disputing against it verie learnedly, saith. ^{Terul. de anima. cap 57.} *Ecce bodie (Simonis heretico) tanta presumptio artis extollit, ut etiam Prophetarum animas ab inferis mouere se spondeant. Et credo, quia mendacio possunt: nec enim pythico tunc spiritui minus licuit animam Samuelis effingere, post deum mortuos consulente Saule. Absit aliquin ut animam cuiuslibet sancti nedum Propheta a demonio credamus extraham, edocti, quod ipse Satanas transfigeretur in Angelum lucis, nedum in hominem lucis. Dubitant, si forte tunc Prophetam se Dei assenerare, & utique Sauli, in quo ipse morabatur: ne putes alium fuisse qui phantasma administrabat, alium qui commendabat, sed eundem spiritum & in pseudopropheta & in Apostata facile metiri, quod fecerat credi: & idcirco quem visum se credidit, vidit: quia per quem vidit, & credidit. Nullam autem animam omnino inferos patiore, satis dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis, & diuitis ingemiscantis ex persona Abraham fauixit, non posse relegari renuntiatorem dispositionis infernae, quod vel tunc licere potuisset, ut Moyses Prophetis crederetur.* ^{ibid.} Even at this day the followers of Simon (Magus) are so puffed vp with the presumption of their art, that they promise to raise from hell the soules of the Prophets. And I thinke they can easily belie themselves; for so did the familiar spirit (of the witch at Endor) resemble the soule of Samuel, when Saul reiected of God, consulted the dead. Otherwise, GOD FORBID VVE SHOULD BELIEVE, that the

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soule of any Saint, much lesse of a Prophet, could bee raised by the Diuell; since wee are taught that Satan is often transfigured into an Angell of light, much more into a man of light. Perchaunce (the Diuell) did doubt to avouch himselfe to bee the Prophet of God, and that to *Saul*, whom hee already possessed; least you should thinke it was anie other which commended the apparition, then hee that procured it; but even the same spirite both in the false Prophetesse, and to the Apostata (*Saul*) easily belied that which he had made to be beleueed. And therefore by whome (*Saul*) beleueed hee should see (the ghost of *Samuel*) by him he saw it; because by whom he saw it, to him he gaue credite. And to teach vs that no soule may rise from the dead, the lord doth sufficiently determine by the person of *Abraham* in that argument of the poore man in rest, & the rich man in torment, that none can returne to report the state of things in hell, which then might haue beene done, to get the more authoritie to *Moses* and the Prophetes. The booke of questions vnder the name of Iustine Martyr being of good antiquitie, if it bee not his; saith. *Cetera omnia ab ipsa Pythonissa facta sunt, Dæmonis opera, prestigijs eorum oculis deludentis, qui videbant eum qui Samuel non erat. Veritas autem dictorum a Deo fuit, qui permisit Dæmoni, ut in forma Samuelis Pythonissa appareret, & res futuras præmonstraret. Et quoniam Samuelem Saul non audierat, dum amissionem regni prædiceret illi, sed post diuinam sententiam ei regnum adimentem, per hariolos imperium retinere satagebat, indignum eum duxit Deus, ut ei ventura significaret per homines sibi adhaerentes.* All the rest the witch did by the operation of the Diuell, deluding their eies, which sawe one that was not *Samuel*. But the truth of that which was spoken, was of God, who permitted the Diuell both to appeare to the witch in the shape of *Samuel*, and to foretell the euent of thinges to come. For in that *Saul* would not giue care to *Samuel*, prophesying vnto him the losse of his kingdome, but sought to retaine it by the helpe of

*Respons. ad
quest. 52.*

of witches, God counted him vnworthie to vnderstande what should come to passe by anie seruants of his. Theodoret in his questions vpon the first booke of Kings, doth reiect this opinion, that the witch raised vp Samuel, not as false only, but as impious also. His words are. *Quomodo oportet intelligere de ventriloqua? Nonnulli dicunt eam vere retulisse Samuelis. Nonnulli autem hoc refellerunt. Ego quidem PRIMVM EXISTIMO ESSE IMPIVM. Existimo enim mulieres necromanticas nequamlibet quidem reducere animam, tantum abest, vt propheta, & tanti propheta. Est enim perspicuum, quod in aliquo alio loco degunt anima expectantes resurrectionem corporum. EST ERGO VALDE IMPIVM credere ventriloquam habere vim tantam.* What shall we say concerning the witch? Some thinke shee truly raised vp Samuel; Some others refell it. I thinke the first to be a VICKED imagination. For I resolute that witches can raise no mans soule, much lesse the soule of a prophet, and of so great a prophet. It is euident that the soules (of the dead) are in a place besides this world, expecting y^e resurrection of their bodies. It is therefore VERY IMPIOVS to beleue y^e a witch hath so great power. And where Theodoret alledgeth a place of the Chronicles to proue, *Quod ipse deus vniuersarum, efformata ut voluit specie Samuelis, protulit sententiam, & minime per aduersarios protulit sententiam;* That God himselfe framing the shape of Samuel as pleased him, pronounced the sentence, and did not giue that iudgement by his aduersaries: there are no such wordes in the Text as he queth. For he citeth them thus: *"Et mortuus est Saul in suis iniquitatibus, in quibus peccauit domino super eloquium domini propterea quod ipsum non custodiuisset, & quod interrogauit Saul in ventriloqua, ut exquireret, ET RESPONDIT SAMVEL PROPHETA, & non exquisiuit in domino, & occidit eum.* Saul died in his finnes, in which he sinned against the Lord, as touching the word of y^e lord which he performed not, & also in that Saul consulted the witch, to know what successe he should haue. And Samuel the prophet answered him, & Saul sought not the lord, & he slue him. These wordes, AND SAMVEL THE PROPHET ANSWERED HIM, are

Theodoret, questionum, in lib. 1. Regum quest. 62

Ibidem.

Ibidem, quest. 62

¹ Vide lib. 1. Paralip. cap. 10. ver. 13. & 14.

71. Paral. ca. 10. ver. 13.

² Ad Simplician. lib. 2. quæst. 3.

³ Ibidem.

are not in the booke of ² Chronicles; and therefore Theodoret's foundation being false, his conclusion that God spake these wordes, and not the diuell, is no way iustificable. Besides, if God had saide, that Saul and his sonnes after death should bee with (God;) as hee that spake to Saule saide they should be with him; God had promised vnto Saul ETERNAL LIFE after his departure hence; which is a plaine contrarietie to the wordes of the Scripture, that saith; ³ SAUL DIED IN HIS SINNES. The first part then of Theodoret's resolution, that a witch could not raise the soule of Samuel, is sound and true diuinitie; the second, that God made a shape of Samuel, and thereby answered Saul, is not proued by any scripture, though it be so supposed by Theodoret.

S. Austen disputing the matter on both sides, though he no way yeld that the witch was able to raise vp soules; yet hee saith, ⁴ Non est absurdum credere, ex aliqua dispensatione diuina voluntatis permissum fuisse, ut non inuitus, nec dominante aut subiugante magica potentia, sed volens & obtemperans occultæ dispensationi dei, quæ & pythouissam illam, & Saulem latebat, cõsentiret spiritus Prophetæ sancti se ostendi aspectibus regis, diuina enim sententia percussurus. It is no absurditie to thinke, that by some dispensation of the diuine pleasure it was permitted, that the soule of the holie Prophet, not against his will, nor ouerruled or forced by anie magicall power, but willing and obeying the secrete will of God, which was hidde both from the witch, and from Saul, should shewe it selfe to the kings sight, to the end it might the more astonish him with the iudgement of God. And albeit he make this possible, yet he inclineth rather to this opinion as the easier, and lesse, that the whole was but the deceite and worke of Satan. ⁵ Quamquam in hoc factu, potest esse alius FACILIOR intellectus & EXPEDITIOR exitus, ut non verè spiritum Samuelis excitatum a sua requis credamus, sed aliquod phantasma, et imaginariam illusionem diaboli machinationibus factam, quam propterea scriptura nomine Samuelis appellat, quia solent imagines, rerum earum nominibus

nominiſus appellari, quarum imagines ſunt. Although in this fact, there may bee another more eaſier vnderſtanding, and freer from (all) difficulties, if wee beleue that the ſoule of Samuel indeede was not raiſed from his reſt, but that it was a phantaſme, and illuſion wrought by the craft of Satan; which the ſcripture therefore calleth by the name of Samuel, becauſe reſemblances are wont to bee called by the names of thoſe things which they reſemble. The ſelfe ſame word for word hee repeateth in his anſwere to the queſtions which Dulcius propoſed vnto him; and albeit in theſe places he ſway indifferently betwixt both, or incline faintly to the one; yet in his booke *De doctrina Chriſtiana* he calleth it a Sacrilegious representation of Samuels image. *Non enim quia imago Samuelis mortui Saulis regi vera prænunciavit, propterea talia ſacrilegia, quibus imago illa præſentata eſt, minus execranda ſunt.* Neither, becauſe the image of dead Samuel, foretold truth to king Saul, are ſuch SACRILEGIES, BY WHICH THAT IMAGE WAS SHEWED, the leſſe to be DETESTED.

But if it were the ſoule of Samuel that appeared, and no illuſion of the diuell preſenting himſelf in the habit of Samuel, the ſtorie no way convinceth that Samuel was in hell. The witch ſaid, I ſaw gods aſcending out of the earth; but her ſight is no good prooſe, where the ſoules of the iuſt are, or whence they come, the diuell might eaſily delude her, and make her beleue, hee came out of the earth, that came from another place. Againe if the bodie of Samuel were taken vp for his ſoule to appeare in; that was raiſed out of the earth, though the ſoule of Samuel came from Abrahams boſome; ſo hee neceſſarily muſt riſe out of the earth, if his bodie roſe withall, as we all ſhall at the generall reſurrection. And where the image of Samuel ſaide to Saul, *To morrow thou and thy ſonnes ſhall be with vs;* he did not meane their ſonnes ſhoulde be in the ſame receptacles after death, but as Auſten ſaith:

Mortuus mortem viuo prænuſciabat. He that was dead, ſhewed the death of him that liued; *ut non ad æqualitatem felicitatis*

b Ad octo Dulciij queſtiones queſt. 6

c De doctrina Chriſtiana. li. 2. ca. 23

Neither opinion
proueth that
Samuels ſoule
was in hell.

d 1. Sam. 28.

e Ad Simplic. lib. 2. queſt. 3

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citatis, sed ad parem conditionem mortis referatur: That it should be referred to the like condition of death, & not to the fruition of the same felicitie. *ffoz if we so take the words,* Thou shalt be to morrow with mee, *utiq; falsum est;* it is certainly false, *sath; Austen,* Magnū quippe intervallū post mortem separari bonos a malis in Evangelio legimus, cum dominus inter superbū illum dūitē, cum iam apud inferos tormenta pateretur, & illum, qui ad eum tantūm ulcerosus iacebat iam in requie constitutum, magnū chaos interiectum testetur. That the good are after death separated frō the bad by a mightie distance, we read in the Gospel, where the Lord witnesseth, that there is a great gulfe interiected betweene the proude rich man, when hee was tormented in hell, and the poore Lazare now in rest, which lay full of sores at the rich mans gate. And so whether we take it to be the soule of Samuel that spake to Saul, or a Magiceall illusion of Satan transforming himselfe into the shape of Samuel, neither way proueth that Samuel was in hell; howbeit I rather embrace the reasons that are extant in the 3 questions of the olde testament vnder the name of S. Austen, cited in the Canon law, which though they be not Austens, are herie ancient. *Indignum facinus astringo, si secundum verba historia commodetur assensus. Quomodo enim fieri poterat, ut arte magica attraheretur vir & naturitate sanctus, & vita operibus iustus? Aut si non attractus est, consensit: quod utrumq; de viro iusto credere absurdum est. Porro hoc est prestigiū Satane, quo, ut plurimos fallat, etiam bonos in potestate se habere confingit. Historicus mentem Saul, & habitum Samuelis descripsit, ea quae dicta & visa sunt exponens, pratermittens si vera an falsa sint. Quid enim ait? Audiens in quo habitu esset excitatus, intellexit, hunc esse Samuelem. Quid intellexerit retulit, & quia non bene intellexit, contra scripturā, alium adorauit quam deum, & putans Samuelem adorauit diabolum, ut fructum fallacie suae haberet Satanas. Si enim vere Samuel illi apparuisset, non utiq; vir iustus permisisset se adorari, qui predicauerat deū solum adorandū. Et quomodo homo dei, qui cū Abraham in refrigerio erat dicebat ad virum pestilentia, dignum ardore gehennae,*

8 Quest. ex ve.
ter. testamentis.
quasi. 27.
Caus. 26. quest.
5. § 14. nec mirū.

*gehenna, grati mecum eris? His duobus rictulis subtilitatem fallacie suae prodidit impronidus Satan, quia & adorari se permisit sub habitu & nomine Samuelis contra legem: & virum peccatis pressum, cum magna distantia peccatorum & iustorum sit, cum Samuele iustissimo futurum mentitus est. Ad eum enim transmigravit (Saul) quem adoravit. I take it to be a wicked act, if we acknowledge the storie according to the words. For how could it be that a man holie in birth, and iust in life should bee drawne (from the place of his rest) by the power of a witch? If he were not drawne (against his will) hee consented (to come;) both which are absurd to beleue of so iust a person. And this is the sleight of Satan, that to deceiue the more, hee maketh as if the iust were in his hands. The storie doth describe the mind of *Saul*, and the shew of *Samuel*, expressing what was seene and said, but pretermittting how true or false either was. For what saith it? *Saul* hearing in what habite (the spiritte) was raised, vnderstoode it to be *Samuel*. It reporteth what (*Saul*) conceived; and because hee conceived amisse, hee adored another then God, against the scripture; and thinking it to bee *Samuel*, worshipped the Diuell, that Satan might reape the fruite of his fallacie. For if *Samuel* had indeede appeared vnto him, the iust person woulde neuer haue suffered himselfe to bee worshipped, which preached God alonie to be worshipped. And how did the man of god, that was with *Abraham* in rest, say to that pestilent man, worthe of hell fire, to morrowe thou shalt bee with me? By these two wayes Satan afore he was ware betraied his fraudulent subtiltie, because he suffered himselfe to be worshipped vnder the habite and name of *Samuel*, against (Gods) lawe; and lied, that *Saul* loden with sinne should after death be with righteous *Samuel*, whereas there is a great distance betwixt the iust and vniust (after this life;) and *Saul* went hence to him, whom he worshipped.*

[If the fathers so much varie and dissent from themselves, and from others, whie do I presse their testimonie touching Christs descent to hell?] I presse them no further then they

I urge not the fathers but agreeing with the scriptures and with themselves.

¹Heb. 2.
¹Colof. 2.

¹1. Cor. 15.

¹Acts 2.

²Ephes. 4.

¹Mat. 27.

accord with the words of the scripture, and with the grounds of faith, wherein they all concur with one consent. When they swarve aside, or part asunder, I dissemble it not; but shew the reader, as not to regard their private opinions without good proofe, so not to reiect their general confession in matters of faith agreeing with the scriptures, without better demonstration then I yet see made for the contrarie. That the diuell was destroyed, and man deliuered by Christs death from the feare of death, is no supposall of mine or theirs, but the manifest conclusion of the holy ghost. That Christ in his owne person spoiled powers and principalities, and openly triumphed ouer them, that death and hell might bee swallowed vp in victorie, is not mans imagination, but the Apostles resolution. That Christs soule was in hell, and there not forsaken, if Dauids prediction, and Peters application were not plaine inough, S. Lukes interpretation is so pregnant, that without wronging to the word, it can not bee pared. Lay these together, and see what they lacke of Christs soule descending into hell. His being there must needs inferre his descending thither. And yet least some scrupulous person should stick at the phrase of Christs DESCENDING INTO HELL, I think S. Paul hath words equiualent to them, ² Ascending on high he led captiuitie captiue. That he ascended, what is it, but that he FIRST DESCENDED into the lower partes of the earth? He that descended, is euen the same that ascended aboue al the heavens, that he might fill al. If hell be any where, there can be no doubt but it must be in the lower parts of the earth. From the earth upward is heauen, where hell can not be. Christ then DESCENDED into the lower partes of the earth, and thence ledde captiuitie captiue, that hee might fill all (places) with his presence. Christs sepulchre was in the higher parts of the earth, ¹ hewen out in a rock, and thence he might lead the death of the booke captiue, but not the diuell, that was ruler ouer death, and had a challenge to the soules of men that came not neare their graves. Since then ascending from the lower parts of the

the earth, he leade captiue, all powers, that he to him in bondage; and those chiefes were the powers of hell, which had interest into the soule of man by reason of Sinne; it must needs bee, that Christ descended to those partes of the earth, where mans captiuitie was strongest, which is in hell: and thence freed him by his presence, and led those captiues, that ruled ouer him, as conquerour of all the power of the deuill and darkenesse, whose prisoner man was, before hee was redeemed. Again, hee first descended to the lowest, and then ascended to the highest, that he might fill all places with his presence. If hee descended not to hell, howe filled hee that place, where hee neuer was, except with the brightnesse of his diuine glorie, which is euert where present without descending or ascending. But the Apostle saith he descended to the lowest, and ascended to the highest, that he might fill all (places) with the presence of his manhode, all knees in heauen, earth, and hell bowing vnto the exaltation of his humane nature.

And if the lower partes of the earth, whither Christ descended to leade captiuitie captiue, bee not lowe enough to shewe the scituation of hell; Saint Paul hath plainer wordes of Christes descending as lowe as might bee; when he wroteth to the Romanes in this wise. Say not in thine heart, who shall ascende into heauen? (that is, to bring Christ downe from about,) or who shal DESCEND INTO THE DEEPE? (that is, to bring Christ backe from the deade.) Christ dying DESCENDED INTO THE DEEPE, as rising from the deade, hee ascended into heauen. Nowe the deepe is so lowe, that no place canne be lower; yea hell it selfe, and the prison of Dinels is knowne by that name in the newe Testament. When the spirits, that possessed the mad man amongst the Gadarens, were to bee cast out by Christ, they besought him, that hee would not commaund them to depart into the deepe. In the Reuelation of Saint Iohn, hell is called,

Christs descending into the deep, and into hell are al one. Rom. 10

1 Luke. 8
2 Reuelat. 9.
verse 1. & 2.

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* Ibidem. ver. 11

Reuel. 20.
κλεισθαι

Christ descen-
ded into the
bottomlesse
deepe.

the pit of the deepe, and the Diuell is there named: the An-
gell, τῆς ἀβύσσου, of the deepe: yea the verie place, where the
Diuell is shut vp, is expressed by that word; I sawe an An-
gell (saith Saint Iohn) come downe from heauen, hauing τὴν
κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου, the key of the deepe, and a great chaine
in his hand. And he took the dragon that olde serpent, which is
called the diuell, and bounde him, and cast him εἰς τὴν ἀβύσσον
into the deep, & shut him vp. If ἀβύσσος be a bottomles deep,
then which can nothing be deeper; if in the scriptures it pro-
perly signifie the verie dungeon of hel, where the diuels are
kept; the Apostle then avouching that Christ, when hee died,
DESCENDED εἰς τὴν ἀβύσσον, INTO THE BOTTOMLES
DEEP, doth clearly confirme that he descended into hell. As
therefore, if we aske who can descend into the deep, or ascend
into heauen, we reuerse Christs being among the dead and
his sitting at the right hand of God in the heauens, so if wee
confesse the both to be verified in Christ (& but in Christ the y
neuer were no; ever shalbe verified of any man) we must no
more deny y he descended into the bottomles pit, which is hell,
then y he ascended into y heauens; both are necessary partes
of our redemption, & euident proofes of his mighty operatiō.
We must be freed frō hel, before we can be placed in heauen;
and if Christ haue omitted either, he hath performed neither.

The descent
to hell after
death, a part of
our redēption.

* De Trinitas.
lib. 2

* Athanas. de sa-
lutari aduentu
Christi.

What maruaile then, if the ancient fathers with one con-
sent, make Christs descent to hel, a material point of our re-
demption, and presse it as an appendix to faith; since it hath
so good ground, and iust proofe in the scriptures, howe soeuer
they or we doubt, where the soules of the righteous were be-
fore Christs suffering. * *Cruz, mors, inferi, salus nostra est*, saith
Hilary; The crosse, death, and descent (of Christ) to hell are our
saluation. * *Diuinitas neque corpus in monumento neq; animā in
inferno destituit, hoc est enim, quod dictū est per prophetā non re-
linques animā meā apud inferos, neq; dabis sanctū tuū videre cor-
ruptionem. Quomodo in ANIMA quidē CHRISTI MORS DEVICTA
EST, resurrectioq; ab inferis deprompta, & spiritibus annuntiata*
est:

est: in corpore vero dei corruptio abolita est, et incorruptibilitas ei sepulchro emicuit. (Christs) deity neither forsooke his body in the sepulchre, nor his soule in hel. For y^e is y^e meaning of the Prophet, wh^o he saith; Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hel, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruptio. Wherefore in THE SOVLE OF CHRIST DEATH VVAS CONQUERED, and the resurrection from hell performed, and signified to the spirits, (that rose with him:) In the body of (him that was) God, corruption was abolished, & incorruption shined out of the graue. Wea Austen himself putteth great difference betwixt the certainty of Christs descent to hell, and the vncertainty of deliuering of some soules thence, which he found there, as he imagineth. *¶ Tenemus firmissimè Quod fides habet fundatissimā auctoritatis firmā, quia Christus mortuus est secundum scripturas, et cetera quæ de illo testantur veritate conscripta sunt: in quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud Inferos fuit, solutis eorum doloribus, quibus ei erat impossibile teneri.* Let vs hold most firmly, y^e which y^e faith containeth, confirmed with most assured authority, that Christ died according to the scriptures; & the rest y^e is written of him by the testimony of the truth, amongst y^e which this is: as to be nabred, y^e he was in hel, dissoluing y^e paines thereof. Of which it was impossible he should be held. Thus far doth Austen venge the very articles of our faith confirmed by the scriptures, & that maketh him infer, y^e who then but an infidel wil deny that Christ was in hell? But when he cometh to the second point of deliuering some from hel, that were in the paines thereof, he tempereth his stile and faith, *² a quibus recte intelligitur soluisse & liberasse, quos voluit;* from which paines Christ may well be conceived, to have loosed and deliuered whom he would; that which Peter saith, loosing the sorrowes of hel, *³ accipi potest in quibusdā,* may be vnderstood of some, whom he thought worthy to be deliuered. For which since there can bee no sure profe brought out of the worde of trueth, we shall doe best to giue eare to his owne aduise in the like case. *⁴ Ergo fratres siue illud siue istud sit, hic me scribatorem verbi dei, non temerarium affirmatorem teneatis.*

Therefore

⁴ August. epist. 99.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁴ August. in Psalmum. 85.

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Therefore brethren whether this or that bee it, heere take me as a searcher of the word of God, and not as a rash affirmer.

Christ deliuered the bodies of some saints, from the power of hell: that is, he raised the from death.

Math. 27

Esay. 38

Hebre. 2

1. Corinth. 15

Reuelat. 20

Reuel. 1.

1. Corinth. 15

All the defence that may be made out of the Scriptures, that Christ deliuered some of the saints out of the present possession and power of hell; is that which is written in the gospel of Saint Matthew, touching the bodies of the saintes rising from death. When Jesus yielded up the ghost; Behold the vaile of the temple rent in twaine; and the earth did quake, and the stones did cleaue; and the graues did open themselves, and many bodies of the Saints, which slept, arose; and came out of the graues after his resurrection, and went into the holy cittie and appeared to many. The death of the bodie, as it is parte of the wages of sinne; so is it the gate of hell; and the well is saide in the scriptures to haue the power thereof. So that howsoever the soules of the iust were in the hands of God, and at rest in Abrahams bosom, their bodies lying dead in the graue, & rotten with corruption were within Satans walke; and when Christ raised them out of their sepulchers to an happie life, he toke them from the power of darknes; and translated them into the kingdom of light. Death is anemie, though the last that shall be destroyed; and death, as well as hell, shall be cast into the lake of fire; and therefore Christ toke the keyes both of death, and of hell; and by his rising from the dead, insulted against both; O death, where is thy sting? O hell, where is thy victory? It is the force of sinne that killeth the bodie; and likewise the force of sinne that rotteeth the bodie; sinne being the strength of hell against bodie and soule. As then our soules are freed from the power of hell, when our sinnes are remitted; so our bodies are deliuered from the handfast of hel, when corruption, the consequent of sinne, is abolished. In this sense it may bee saide, that Christ deliuered some from the power of hell, that is, these bodies from the sepulchers where the plate turned into dust. For by death and corruption the sinnefull flesh of man is till the resurrection subjected to the range of Satan, hee being the

the ¹ Prince of the ayre, and ¹ gouernour of darknesse, and ^m ruler of death.

Saint Austen doubteth, whether those bodies of the saints were wholie freed from corruption; or late vnto againe in death after they had giuen witness to Christs resurrection.

Scia quibusdam videri, morte domini Christi iam talem resurrectionem prestita iustis, qualis nobis in fine promittitur; Qui utique suum iterum repositis corporibus dormierunt, videndum est quomodo admodum Christus intelligatur primogenitus a mortuis

si enim in illa resurrectione tot precesserunt. I know (saith Austen) some thinke, that at the death of the Lord Christ the same kind of resurrection was performed to the iust, which is promised to vs in the ende of the worlde: but if they slept not againe, by laying downe their bodies, we must looke howe Christ can be vnderstood to be the first borne of the dead, if so many went before him in that resurrection. But his reasons are of no such force, as to perswade, that the bodies of the saintes, which rose with Christ, slept againe in their graues, and returned to corruption; yea that would somewhat impeach the power of Christs resurrection, if it were able to raise them to life, but not preserve them in life; and the whole fact will seeme rather an apparition, then a true resurrection. His first objection is answered in the text it selfe. For the saints did not rise before Christ, but after Christ; and so still Christ was the first borne from the dead. The wordes of the text are; ^o manie bodies of the saintes, which slept arose; and came out of the graues AFTER HIS RESURRECTION. Nowe to thinke that they rose presentlie vnto his death, & layed a line in their graues till he was risen, is a vaine imagination, and a waite rather to punish them with a wearisome life, then to prefer them to a comfortable resurrection. His second reason hath some more shew, but it is not sufficient to conclude his intention. It seemeth hard (saith he) that *Dauid* should not be in that resurrection of the iust, if it were eternall, of whose seede

Christ is so often commended to vs with so great honor and evidence.

¹ Ephes. 2

¹ Ephes. 6

^m Hebre. 2

Whether the bodies of the saints, that rose with christ slept againe or no.

² August. epist. 99.

99.

^o Matth. 27^o

² August. E-
pistola. 99.

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dence. And if David rose with them, Peters profe unto the
Actes, 2 Jewes is verie weak, when hee saith, ⁹ David is deade and
 buried; and his sepulchre remaineth with us unto this daie. For
 if Dauids body were risen befoze the speaking of those words,
 his sepulchre was emptie; and concluded nothing for Pe-
 ters purpose. For aunswere hereto, the holie Ghost had
 no meaning by Peters mouth to prove that David lay then
 in his grane, when those wordes were spoken; but onelie
 that David saw corruption, as his sepulchre remaining to that
 date continued; wherein his bodie was buried above a thou-
 sand yeares befoze Christs coming, and consequentlie
 must needs be turned into dust many hundreth befoze Peter
 spake the worde. His predication therefore, that God would not
 suffer his holy one to see corruption, could no waie pertaine
 to himselfe, but must bee verified in some other, which was
 Christ; and so Peters argument was verie sound and cleere;
 whether Dauids ashes were then in his sepulchre or no. Peters
 other allegation, that ¹⁰ David is not ascended into heaven, doth
 not hinder, but David might be translated into Paradise,
 with the rest of the saints, & rose from the dead, when Christ
 did; but it is a just probat ion, that Dauids body was not then
 ascended, when Christ sate in his humane flesh at the right
 hand of God; which expresseth the power and glorie, wherein
 to the bodie of Christ was exalted by his ascension into hea-
 ven. So that here Austen hath some hold to prove, that David
 did not ascende in body, when Christ did; or at least not to
 heaven, whither Christ ascended; because in plaine wordes
 Peter saith, David is not ascended into heaven; but rather the
 bodies of ¹¹ saints slept againe, when they had given testimony
 to Christs resurrection; or they were placed in Paradise;
 and there expect the number of their brethren, which shall be
 raised out of the dust; as Iakie David was none of those,
 that were raised to beare witness of Christs resurrection;
 but onelie such were chosen, as were knowne to the persons
 then living in Hierusalem. Whatsoever it was, *Emelius est*
dubitans

*David saw cor-
 ruptio though
 he were then
 risen from cor-
 ruption, but
 Christs flesh
 neuer putrified*

Actes, 2, ver. 34

August de ge-

dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis. It is better (as Austen saith) to doubt of things (vnknown and) hid, then to strue about things vncertain. The last reason of S. Austen, that God so provided for vs, that the fathers of the olde testament without vs, should not be perfect; proueth not, that al the saints in Paradise lacke their boddes; for then we must deny that Henoch was translated, not to see death; and that Elias was taken vp by a whirlewind into heauē; as also that he was scene on the mount talking with Christ, which are directlie affirmed by the scriptures; but it wil make some pzoof, that they haue not the same perfection of iote and blisse, which they shall haue, when all the members of Christ are receaued into glorie.

neq. ad liuian. li. 8. cap. 9.

¹Hebre. 11.

¹Hebre. 11

²4. Regum. 2

⁷Matth. 17

There remaineth one obiection, which must be eased, before I ende. And that is, Christ saide to the theefe which confessed him on the crosse: This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise; how then could Christs soule be thredates in hell, except we grant it might be in manie places at once? S. Austen laboureth in his 57. epistle to remoue this stumbling block; and after some turnes and twenches, he thus concludeth. *Est autem sensus multo expeditior, et ab his omnibus ambiguitatibus liber, si non secundum id quod homo erat, sed secundum id quod deus erat, Christus dixisse accipiat: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Homo quippe Christus, illo die secundum carnem in sepulchro, secundum animam in inferno futurus erat. Deus vero idē ipse Christus ubique semper est.* The far easier vnderstanding, and free from al these ambiguities is; if wee take Christ to speake those wordes, This day shalt thou bee WITH MEE in Paradise, not of his manhoode, but of his Godhead. For the man Christ was that day in the graue according to his flesh, and in hell as touching his soule; but the same Christ as God is alwaies euery where. And though this answer please that learned Father best, that Christ shoulde speake of the theefes soule, and his diuine presence in Paradise, yet wee haue no warrant in the word of God so to fasten Christs soule vnto hel for the time of his death, that it might not bee in Paradise before it descended

²Luke. 23

²August. epist. 57.

¶ 2.

into

^b Rom. 10

into hell; and he first shew himselfe to the saints to their unspeakable comfort, before hee went to subiect the powers of darkenesse vnder his yoke. That hee^b descended into the deep, must be receaued, because it is auouched by the apostle; but what time he went, or how long he staid, as also what manner of triumph he brought thence, cannot bee limited by any mortall man; In all these cases I thinke it safest to particularize nothing, which is not defined in the worde of God: there may be likelihoods, but the consciences of the faithfull must not bee enforced, except to certainties. This is that I thought fit to be saide touching Chyistes descent to hell; bying the force and fruite of his going thither, or appearing there, to subiect the whole strength and kingdome of Satan vnto himselfe, and to acquitte all his members from committing thither; but the time or manner of his descending, I dare not determine, least I should auert you from truth to fables.

Farre surer is the former doctrine, teaching the redemption of mankind by the death of Chyist to bee all-sufficient and euerlasting, wherein the scriptures being euident and the Fathers consonant, I shall neede no moe words; I will therefore close them both with the confession of Fulgentius, who liued 500. yeeres after Chyist, and so commend you to God.

^c *Deus verus & viuus, imo deus veritas et vita aeterna, nisi idem verus homo fieret, mortē gustare non posset. Et idē homo qui mortem gustauit, si verus deus & vita aeterna non esset mortē vincere non valeret. Excepto illo, qui sic homo est ut idem sit deus, quis est homo qui destruxerit mortem, aut quis eruet animam suā de manu inferi? mors autem filij dei, quam SOLA CARNE suscepit VTRAMQUE IN NOBIS MORTEM, anima scilicet carnisque destruxit, & resurrectio carnis eius, gratiam nobis & spiritualis & corporalis resurrectionis attribuit, ut prius iustificati per fidem mortis & resurrectionis filij dei, resuscitemur ab infidelitatis morte, & post primam resurrectionem scilicet animarum, qua nobis in fide collocata est, etiam ista carne, in*

q. 22

qua nunc vivimus, resurgamus, nunquam denuo morituri. The true and living God, yea the God that is truth it self, and life euerlasting, if he were not also true man, could not haue tasted death, and that man which tasted death, except he had beene likewise the true God, and eternall life, hee could not haue conquered death. Saying he that was both God and man, what man could haue destroyed death, or deliuered his own soule from the power of hell? But the death of the sonne of God WHICH HE SUFFERED IN HIS FLESH ONELIE, destroyed both deaths in vs, as well of soule as bodie; and the resurrection of his flesh gaue vs the grace both of a spirituall and corporall resurrection, that being first iustified by faith in the death and resurrection of the sonne of God, we might bee raised from the death of infidelitie; and after the first resurrection which is of the soule, (from sinne,) giuen vs by faith, we may also rise in this flesh, in which we now liue, neuer to die anie more.^d *Cum SOLA CARO MORERETVR ET RESUSCITARETVR IN CHRISTO* *propter unitatem persona dei & hominis, filius dei dicitur mortuus.* *Totum igitur HOMINEM cum suis infirmitatibus sine peccato dei filius accepit; in tota traditus idem Christus, SECUNDUM SOLAM CARNEM MORTVVS, Totus Christus secundum solam animam ad infernum descendit. Humanitas ergo vera filij dei, nec tota fuit in sepulchro, nec tota in inferno, sed in sepulchro secundum carnem Christus mortuus iacuit, & secundum animam ad infernum Christus descendit. Secundum diuinitatem vero suam, qua nec loco tenetur, nec fine concluditur, totus fuit in sepulchro cum carne, totus in inferno cum anima. Ac per hoc plenus fuit ubiq; Christus, quia non est deus ab humanitate, quia suscepas separatus, qui & in anima fuit, ut solutus inferni doloris AB INFERNO VICTRIX REDIRET, & in carne sua fuit, ut celeri resurrectione corrumpi non posset.* Whereas ONELIE THE FLESH died, and was raised againe in Christ, yet for the vnitie of the person, being God and man; the sonne of God is said to haue died. The whole nature of man then with our infirmities, the sonne of God tooke vnto him for our sakes,

^d Fulgent. de 1^o passione domini ad Trasim. lib. 3.

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but without sinne: in the whole nature the same Christ being deliuered, **DIED ACCORDING TO THE FLESH ONLY**, and whole Christ descended into hell according to the soule onlie. So that the true manhood of the sonne of God, was neither whole in the sepulchre, nor whole in hell, but in the sepulchre Christ lay dead in his true flesh; and in his soule Christ descended into hell. But as touching his diuinitie, which is neither comprehended in place, nor measured with end, whole Christ was in the graue with his flesh, and whole Christ in hell with his soule. And thereby whole Christ was euery where: because his Godhead was not seuered from his manhood; but was with his soule, that dissoluing the sorrowes of hell, it might returne conquerour from hell; and with his flesh, that speediliierising, it might not see corruption.

• 1. Pet. 3.

• 1. Pet. 4.

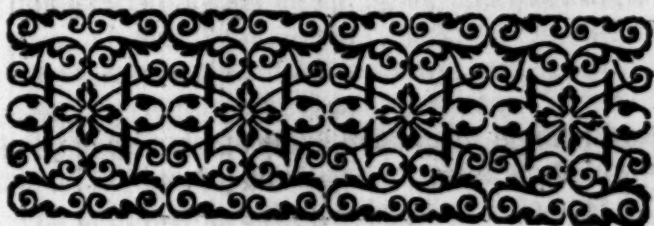
• August. epi. 7.
99.

• Ibidem.

The darke places of Peter, that Christ by his spirit preached vnto the spirits (that are now) in prison, which in the daies of Noe were disobedient whiles the Arke was preparing: and likewise that the Gospell was preached vnto the dead; I omit as nothing pertinent to Christs descent to hell; the first being verified in the time, and by the mouth of Noe; and the second performed by the preaching of the Apostles, as Saint Austen long since obserued; who saith of the first, *Considera ne forte totum illud quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noe non crediderant, Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnino ad inferos non pertineat, sed ad illa potius tempora, quorum formam ad haec tempora transtulit: Take heede least happily all that which Peter speaketh of spirits closed in prison, which beleeued not in the daies of Noe, doe not at all pertaine to hell, but rather to those times which Peter compareth with our age: and of the second, Quod Petrus dicit, propter hoc & mortuis Euangelizatum est, ut iudicentur secundum homines in carne, vident autem secundum deum spiritu, non cogit apud inferos intelligi. Propterea enim in hac vita & mortuis Euangelizatum est, id est, infidelibus & iniquis, ut cum crediderint iudicentur secundum homines in carne, hoc est, in diuersis tribulationibus & in ipsa morte*

morte carnis . That which Peter saith ; (to this purpose was the Gospel preached vnto the deade, that they might bee iudged according to men in the flesh, but liue according to God in the spirit;) hath no necessitie to be applied to hell . For the Gospel is preached in this life to the dead, that is to the infidels and sinners, that when they beleeue they might be iudged in the flesh after the maner of men, by diuerse troubles, and euen by the death of the flesh. **This I repeate the rather, because some late wryters haue borrowed Saint Austens exposition, and suppressed Saint Austens name; as if they were the first that euer looked into the truth of these places . Other reasons there are, but they are not worth the ripping vp; I will therefore trouble you no further.**

To the father that spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all; to the sonne that laide downe his life for vs, and redeemed vs with his precious bloud; to the holie Ghost which scaleth the sufferings and comforts of Christ in our hearts; euen to the king euerlasting, immortal, inuisible, and God onelie wise, be honour and glorie, for euer and euer. Amen.



There are but two things to be considered in this matter. First, that the Gospel is not a mere theory, but a power. It is a power which, when it is truly understood, will transform the life of the individual. It is a power which, when it is truly understood, will transform the life of the individual. It is a power which, when it is truly understood, will transform the life of the individual.

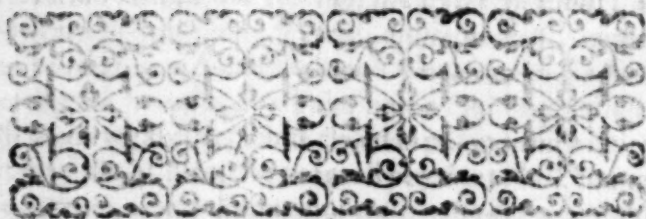
It is the father that spared not his own life, but gave it for us all; to the house that made down his life for us, and redeemed us with his precious blood; to the Father of the Spirit which led the righteous and comfort of the world.

[Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page]

infinite and God alone will be honored

and globe, for ever and

Am. A. 1903



The Conclusion to the Reader, for 225

the clearing of certaine obiections
made against the doctrine
before handled.

Promised thee (Christian reader) in
preface of this booke, to give thee a taste
in the conclusion how rashly & weakly
the doctrine, which thou hast now
read, was confuted, before it was
printed, by one that professeth. He
could not forbear but imploy his talent
to cleare the holy cause (as he calleth it)

^a Pag 3.

“from all the corrupt fancies and vaine imaginations of men.”
which, God willing, I meane now to performe. Thou must
not looke that I will waste time and paper to settle a giddie
head, or stoppe a running founge, but when by some particu
lars I haue made it appeare how vnfit he is to be refuted,
or so much as regarded by me; I will leaue him to the depth
of his follies. For though he point plainlie to my sermons,

in directing his treatise: ^b contrary to certaine errors publicly
preached in London, and sticketh not to name me; yet because

^b pag: 1

he flyeth from the state of the chiefe Question which I im
pugned, and taketh the paines to ouer skip all my authori
ties with silence, if not with contempt, and in reporting my
reasons forgetteth and dissembleth what pleaseth him selfe,
as also in the defence of his holie cause he roaneth as he li
steth, neither keeping himself to any order, nor bringing any
matter of moment, but confusedlie pottering out the haultie
resolutions of his owne braines, spiced enerie where with
ignorant & absurd positions; neither my leasure nor my li
king suffer me to speake him out, that hath so farre lost him
selfe, nor to hounsafte him an answer, that so proudlie despi
seth all authoritie and antiquitie, which loseth not with his
fancie. I will therefore shew thee (good Reader) some exam
ples

^c Pag: 89.

Ples of his insolent reiecting the Fathers, of his forgetfull
or willfull altering my reasons, of his impertinent proving
that which is not questioned, and skipping that which should
bee proved, of his erroneous and dangerous assertions, of
his intolerable ignorance in the tongue, whereof he so much
vaunteth, and then leave thee to God, if thou least not the rea-
ding, as I did the writing before thou come to the end.

Galat 6.

Page 31.

Wide pag. 4.

Where I take for my text, these words of S. Paule,
God forbid that I should reioice but in the crosse of our Lord
Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to me and I to the
world. This cōfater would beare men in hand, that I mistoke
my text, & forced a false conclusion from it. ^b This (saith hee)
is not onely an obiection, but even a foundation and principall
ground of this error, but so mistaken and forced as nothing may
be more. My reason he maketh to be this; Christs soule was not
crucified but only his bodie; therefore Christs bodie onlie suffe-
red, and not his soule. By this (gentle reader) it may plainly
be perceived, how well this gainfater observed my proofs. I
drew no reason from these words, but proposing them for
my theme, took occasion from them to laie downe; first the
contents of Christs crosse, how far it extended; and then the
effects of Christs crosse, how much it performed, which is the
generall methode of the whole treatise. In the contents of
Christs crosse my words are these. Rightly then maie the
Crosse note all manner of miseries, so much as our Saviour
going from the garden to the graue suffered all sorts of afflictions;
which I before specifying amongst others named these,
shame, reproch, and all sorts of deadlie paines, besides heauines
of hart, and agonie of mind, which oppressed him in the garden;
and this I made no different signification, but rather a partici-
pation of the crosse of Christ. When I came to Christs suffer-
ings on the Tree, as Peter speaketh, I vied these plaine
words: the rest (of his torments) which went before, not being
excluded as superfluous, but continued and increased by that
sharp & extreame martirdome which he suffered on the Crosse.

Edw.

for the cleering of certain obiections: 227

Did I then make any such conclusion out of these words of Paul as you imagine, Sir confuter? or did rather your wit & memorie so slenderlie serue you, that you could not conceive or carry away the maine methode of my sermons, distinctly laid downe at my first entrance into this matter? But as you begin with my Theme, so you continue with the whole discourse, mistaking, forgetting, perverting and mairning all that I alledged or concluded.

¹ *Nevertheless you take it to bee cleare, that this text was* ² *misaken by me, for the Apostle here speaketh not of the personall,* ³ *sufferings of Christ, but of the godlie, which they suffer for Christs,* ⁴ *truth sake. To dimme thes two light is clearer then Sunne shine; and to a man of your understanding falsehood may bee clearer then truth; but knowe you Sir H. I. that I mis*
tooke not my text. For albeit the CROSSE bee some times
taken for the afflictions of the godlie; yet THE CROSSE
OF CHRIST is no where in the scriptures so taken. Again
though we be ⁵ *permitted and* ⁶ *commanded to reioice in our*
afflictions, yet to make it a thing detestable to reioice in ⁷ *anie thing else, as the Apostle here doth, by saying, God for-*
bid that I should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ; hath no ⁸ *ground in dismitte. Himselfe saith else where; & Of such*
a man (as was taken by into Paradise) will I reioice; ⁹ *of my selfe I will not reioyce, except it bee of mine infir-*
mities. Our Sauour saith to his Disciples, ¹⁰ *Reioice*
rather because your names are written in heaven. But of
Christ crucified, it is pletie and dutie to saie; God forbid that
wee should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ. For as to the Co-
rinth the Apostle refuseth ¹¹ *all knowledge saue of Christ, and* ¹² *him crucified: so here bee renounceth all reioicing saue in the*
Crosse of Christ, that is in Christ crucified. This to bee the
full and plaine meaning of the Apostle in this place is to
me as cleare as date light, and I hope will so seeme to the
(Christian Reader) if thou marke the words of Saint Paul
in the 12. verse of this vertie Chapter, where hee chargeth

Gal. 6. ver. 12.

the false Apostles with bigging Circumcision; because they would avoid persecution for the crosse of Christ: They constrain you (saith hee) to be circumcised, onely because they would not suffer persecution for the Crosse of Christ; protesting the contrarie for himselfe in these wordes; but God forbid that I should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ, **WHERBY THE WORLD IS CRUCIFIED TO ME; AND I TO THE WORLD:** Meaning he both not onely refuse the fauours; but despise the terrors of the worlde for the crosse of Christ. In the first part of this comparison betwixt himselfe and those that flattered the Jewes with teaching circumcision for feare of affliction, put your interpretation to his wordes of the Apostle, and see how absurdly it matcheth with them. They constrain you to be circumcised, onely because they would not suffer persecution for the crosse of Christ; that is as you expound it, because they would not suffer persecution for the afflictions of the godlie. Hath this exposition either sense or reason in it? Or else is it euident that the Apostle here meaneth by the crosse of Christ, the Wanders shame of Christs suffering on the Crosse, which the Jewes so abhorred, that they pursued all that preached or believed it? Then consequently Pauls reioicing in nothing but in the crosse of Christ contrarie to their course must needs import, that he reioiced in nothing so much as in that shameful death which the Sanctuaries of the worlde endured on the crosse; and to that end he saith in the former Chapter; where hee more largelie handleth this matter; If I yet preach circumcision, why doe I yet suffer persecution? Then is the slander of the crosse abolished; meaning there was none other cause why the Jewes hated and persecuted him, but for preaching Christ crucified, to bee the true and onlie meane of our saluation, without circumcision or what soeuer ceremonies of the law.

Gal. 5. ver. 11.

Tract in Iohann. 43.

As the text is cleare with the sense which I folloved, so the fathers concur with the same. Christ (saith Austin) chose that kind of death to hang on the crosse, that a Christian might say,

for the clearing of certaine obiections. 229

saie, far be it from me to reioice but in the crosse of Christ. Chrysostome vpon this place, what is the reason (saith hee) that Paul forioyeth in Christs crosse? because Christ for my sake took the shape of a seruant, and for my sake endured that hee suffered. Nothing far yet. *Annon est gloriandum, quum ille dominus, qui uerusest deus, non erubescit pro nobis crucem subire?* Haue we not good cause to reioice when that Lord, which is true God, was not ashamed to endure the crosse for vs? Paul doth not reioice (saith Ierom) in his owne righteousness or knowledge, but in the faith of the crosse, by which all my sinnes are pardoned me. Christ bearing his crosse on his shoulders, (saith Bede) commendeth it, that Paul might saie, be it far from me to reioice but in the crosse of Christ. He was despised in the eyes of the wicked for that, wherein the heartes of the Saintes should reioice. I dare somethat longer (gentle Reader) on this point; for that, as it had bin a chylly oversight in me at the first entrance to mistake the meaning of my text; so it is more then a malepart trick in him vniustice to challenge me for it; but I make the best content my selfe with it, since this Refuter listeth not to vie all the fathers with like disoaine, whereof I will giue thee an example or two, that thou mayest see the headlinesse of this hasty writer.

In the contents of Christs crosse, I obserued out of Augustine, Ierom, and Bernard that no violence of death wrested Christs soule from him, as it doth ours; but when he saue his time, hee enen at an instant lathe it doone of himselfe, no paines hastning his death. *This is a paradox in Nature (saith this Controller) and contrary to scripture which saith, he was like vs in all things sinne only excepted.* You might giue the learned and sunient fathers better wordes Sir trier, what soeuer you do me; your wits are too weake to refute their resolution. For were like a wane, you pte you know not what, they ground themselves on the plaine and expresse wordes of the scriptures. No man (saith our Saviour) taketh my soule from mee, but I laie it

Chrysost, in Galat. 6

Ierom in Galat. 6

Beda. in Galat. 6

Vide pag 7

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John. 10

downe of my selfe: I haue power to laie it downe, and haue power to take it againe. Powe thinke you Sir; coulde any violence or paines of death take Christs soule from him; or had hee power to laie it downe when and as he woulde, which no man else ener had or shall haue & you replie, *he was like vs in all things, sinne only excepted.* Such protest became well your person. Was he like vs in his birth; can we lie in the graue without corruption, as he laie & or raise our selues from death as he did: Reade more for shame and write lesse; till you bee better aduised, or better instructed. Upon these words of Christ, I haue power to laie down my soule, and haue power to take it againe, Chrysostom writeth thus; *utrumq; nouum fuit & prater communem consuetudinem. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam: hoc est, ego solus potestatem habeo, qua uobis non est.* Both these (powers) were strange and aboue the common course of men. I haue power to laie down my soule, that is, I ALONE haue this power, which you haue not. If you denie this that Chrysostom saith, remember what God himselfe saith; *h'o foole this night shal they fetch away thy soule froe thee, which Christ saith none could do from him, because he had power by his fathers appointment to laie it down of himselfe.*

• Homili. 69
In Iohannem.

• Luke. 12

• Vide pag. 19
• Vide pag. 34

• Pag. 66

In like sort, when I shewed not mine own opinion, but the iudgments of the ancient fathers as well for the causes that might be of Christs agonie in the garden, as for the meaning of his complaint on the crosse, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me; obserue (gentle Reader) I praise thee, how absurdly he rolet from the one to the other, & how insolentlie he reiecteth al the fathers, for that they uphold not his humour of hell paines to be the ground of both. I alleaged Ierom and Chrysostom, that Christ on the crosse cited the beginning of the 22. Psalm, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, that the Iewes might knowe they had fulfilled the words of the prophet Dauid in that psalme foretelling the passio of Christ. His answer is, *this sense is most absurd.* To Achanasius, Augustine, and Leo, that Christ spake those words

for the clearing of certain obiections. 231

words in the person of his church, which then suffered in him
and with him, he saith, ^m This is no lesse absurd then the former, ^{"Pag. 67}
there is no reason or likelihood for it. When I brought Ierom, ["]
Ambrose, Austen, and Bede, that in the garden Christ might
sorrow for the refection of the Iewes, who would put the ven-
geance of God on their owne heads, to the utter destruction
of their whole nation by putting him to death, this Con-
futer foolishly and forgetfully maketh this an interpretation of
Christs complaint on the crosse, and addeth, ^{"Pag. 68.} This is more
fond and absurd then the other. So when among other causes ["]
of Christs agony in the garden that might be, (for I took vp
on me to determine none) being five in number, I brought
this for one out of Ambrose, that Christ sorrowed for vs, was
SAD for vs, and GRIEVED for vs, he LAMENTED OVR
VVOUNDES, not his, OVR WEAKENES, not his owne
death, ^{"Pag. 68.} This in effect (saith hee) is nothing but what wee
affirme, howbeit this ought not to haue any place heere; ^{"Pag. 69.}
P how could these wordes hang together, when hee meaneth to tell ["]
his father howe zealous hee is for his glorie, to saie; My God, ["]
my God, why hast thou forsaken me? There is no fashion in ["]
them thus signifying. What you speake holdeth but errone- ["]
ously of the sonne of God; ^{"Pag. 55.} It cannot bee strange if often ["]
times Christ fell amazed, confounded and forgetfull of him- ["]
selfe for feare and griefe; I make trulle and iustlie say of you; ["]
it is not strange to see you amazed, confounded and forget-
full in your writing. What I spake of Christs agonie
in the garden, you applie to his complaint on the crosse, and
saie, the words will not hang together. Good Sir awake out ["]
of your sleepe, and learne at least to vnderstand before you
answer.

As this presumer euerie where with disaine casteth away
the iudgements of the father which I produce, & preferreth
his owne pecuniy conceits before them all; so when he repor-
teth my reasons, he either ignorantly mistaketh them, or pur-
posely peruerbeth them, & they may the lesse encumber him.

Vide page; 8

In the effectes of Christes crosse I noted out of the Apostle to the Hebrews three properties of the true propitiatorie sacrifice which took a waile the sinne of the world: It was a bodilie, a bloudie, and a deathlie sacrifice; and amongst many reasons to confirme the same, I brought the setting, which the confuter after his forgetfull manner roweth at, The first in effect was this. The true sacrifice for sinne, which the Redeemer should offer, was shadowed and foreshewed by the sacrifices which God commanded and accepted in the old testament: but the sacrifices of the Patriarches and of the faithful appointed by Moses foreshewed and figured a bodilie, bloudie, and deathlie sacrifice, and no paines of hell, therefore the true sacrifice for sinne was made by the bodie, bloud and death of the Redeemer, and not by the paines of hell suffered in his soule. The second this, As the sacrifices of the law prefigured what the Saviour of the world should do for the abolishing of sinne, so the sacraments of the new testament confirme and seale that performed in the person of Christ Jesus, which was the true propitiation for our finnes, and price of our redemption: but the sacraments of the new testament, and speciallie the Lodes supper, declare and confirme unto vs the bodie of Christ giuen for vs vnto death, and his bloud shed for the remission of our finnes; therefore this was the true propitiation for our finnes, and price of our redemption, and not the paines of hell suffered in the soule of Christ, as some imagine. To the first the Confuter answereth; The proposition is false taking it generally. The carnall sacrifices of the Iewes signified that which they were apt to signifie, but not anie further. The sacrifices of beastes could not prefigure the personall vnion of God and man, nor the reasonable and immortal soule of Christ, nor his resurrection, all which were necessarie pointes in the meritorious sacrifice. Secondly he denieth the assumption. For certaine of the Iewes sacrifices set forth the sufferings of the soule of Christ also. As the scape Goate in the 16. of Leviticus, which was a sin offering

Page. 11.

Page. 12.

ring, though it were sent a waite free and vntouched. To the reason drawne from the Sacraments, hee saith, *Wee are to* ^{pag. 14.} *answere as we did before. These are bodilie and earthlie Elements, and therefore fitte to set foorth bodilie and apparant effects in Christ; they cannot set out the spirituall and innisibile effects in him. And yet the ceremonie of breaking the bread, which is to shewe that Christes bodie was broken for vs, can not belong properlie to the bodie, but to the soule. These I trust are your words; now heare my replie. I had no such proposition as you frame to your selfe, that either the sacrifices of the lawe, or Sacraments of the Gospel, were figures of our whole and absolute redemption, which is (as you expound it) of all the fruits and causes of our redemption. This is your evasion, not my proposition; I tolde you that as God had promised, to the faithfull beleued, that his owne sonne should be the Seede of the woman, and by his death and blood should purge their sinnes. To continue this promise and confirme the faith of all before and vnder the lawe, God appointed bloodie sacrifices, as continuall remembrances and figures, not of the person, nor of the function of Christ; but of the Sacrifice, by which hee shoulde abolish sinne; to witte, by his bodie slaine, and his blood shedde, which the carnall sacrifices were fittest to resemble, since God would not haue the blood of anie man, but of his owne sonne shedde for remission of sinnes. My proposition then speaketh of the true sacrifice for sinne, and acknowledgeth that to bee the true sacrifice for sinne, which was shadowed and figured by the death and blood of those beasts, that God commaunded to bee offered vnto him. This proposition you doe not denie, for you graunt, *The Iewes* ^{pag. 11.} *sacrifices signified what they were apt to teach, and signifie;* but they were apt and ordained of GOD to teach the Iewes, that, by the death and blood of the Agnias, they shoulde bee redeemed and saued from their sinnes; ergo they were apt and ordained of God to figure and shadowe the*

H h i

234 The conclusion to the Reader,

the true propitiatorie sacrifice. And so the patriarches and Prophetes beleued and expected, whose faith and hope could neither be vaine nor frustrate, since they were thereto directed by Gods owne appointment.

This proposition, be you Christian or Iew, you may not denie; and therefore you doe well to denie the assumption, and to affirme that certaine sacrifices of the Iewes, as namelie the scape Goate in the 16. of Leuiticus did signifie the immortal soule of Christ, which was a sacrifice for sinne, and did properlie beare our finnes, and suffer for our finnes. But Sir, if a man aske you howe you proue that the scape Goate signified the soule of Christ, what haue you to saie? Because both Goates (saie you) are a sacrifice for sinne, as the Text speaketh. You abuse the Text, and decelue your selfe. The wordes are. Aaron shall take of the assemblie of the children of Israel two hee Goates for a sinne offering, that is to make a sinne offering of one of them, on which the Lordes lotte shall fall; So followe the wordes in the 8. verse of that chapter. Aaron shall cast lottes ouer the two hee Goates, one lotte for the Lorde, and another lotte for the scape Goate. And Aaron shall offer the Goate on which the Lords lot shall fall, and MAKE HIM A SINNE OFFERING. The taking of the Goates from the people both not make them sacrifices for sinne, but the offering them vnto the Lord by the Priest: so that though two were taken, yet lots were cast which of them should bee the sinne offering, and which of them the scape Goate, which consequently was no sinne offering, because that was made a sinne offering, on which the Lords lot fell. And so if the scape Goate did signifie the soule of Christ, as you affirme more boldlie then wiselie, then was not the soule of Christ a sinne offering, neither did it suffer for sinne, if your owne example maie bee trusted. Howbeit what the scape Goate signified, I am not so forward to pronounce as you be, though I haue better warrant so to doe then you haue.

For

¶ Pag. 12:

Leuit. 16
vers. 5.

for the cleering of certain obiections. 235

For Cyrill, or as some thinke, Origen writing vpon that place of Leviticus saith; ^h If all the people of God were holie, there shoulde not bee two lottes cast vpon the Goates, one to bee offered to the Lorde, the other to bee sent to the desert; but there shoulde bee one lotte, and one offering to the Lord alone. But nowe where in the number of them that come to the Lord, some belong to the Lord, some deserue to bee cast awaie, and seuered from the Lordes offering; therefore part of the sacrifice which the people bring, to wit one of the Goates, is offered to the Lorde, the other is cast off, and sent into the Desert. Ambrose in the like sense. ⁱ As of two founde in the fildes one is taken, the other forsaken; so are there two Goates, one fitte for sacrifice, the other to bee sent awaie into the Desert. Hee serued for no vse, neither might hee bee eaten or tasted of by the children of the Priestes. Beda **toyneeth with them.** ^k If all the people were holie, there shoulde not bee two lottes vpon the Goates, but one lotte, and one offering; nowe when manie are called and fewe chosen, part of the peoples sacrifice is offered to the Lord, the other parte is cast awaie. **¶** Else this maie bee vnderstoode of Iesus and *Barrabas*, that one of them, which was the Lordes lotte, euen Iesus was slaine; the other accursed carcase was sent into the Iewes Desert, bearing the sinnes of the people that cried, Crucifie him. **So that the scape Goate by the iudgement of these fathers signified the reprobate among the people; and not the soule of Christ; as you holde lie anouch. But did it signifie the soule of Christ; what gaine you by that? The scape Goate was neither done to death, nor made anie sinne offering, as you falslie suppose, but was separated from the Lords offering, and let go free and vntouch- ed. Then by your owne similitude the soule of Christ neither died anie death, as you after falselie and absurdlie conclude, that the soule of Christ died, and was crucified; neither was it anie part of the offering for sinne to G D D, which you so much endeouour to proue. Such is**

^hIn Leuit. lib. 9

ⁱLib. 1. epist. 4.

^kIn Leuit. ca. 16

your understanding, that by your owne examples, you ouerthrow your owne positions, whyles you labour to establish them with faint conceits of your owne deuising.

[But in the burnt offering or holocaust prescribed, Leui. 6 you find more helpe then in the scape Goate, to proue that Christ soule suffered for our sins as wel as his body.] If you meane that Christs soule suffered the paines of hel, I would faine see how you proue that out of the holocaust or burnt offering. If you thinke the name of fire doth somewhat relieue you, remember, Sir, besides the sundrie references that fire hath in the scripture, the ¹ holocaust was first slaine, and after burnt; and therefore vnlesse you will fasten the fire of affliction as you call it, to Christs body or soule after his death, the burning of the dead sacrifice by fire will little further your purpose. Again, in one and the same fire was the holocaust consumed. If this therefore touch the death and passion of Christ, his bodie and soule must iointly suffer one and the same kind of affliction; which is the thing you so much impugne. And since by your owne position the bodies of beasts ^m could not
^m prefigure the immortal and reasonable soule of Christ, how cometh it now to passe that y^e body of the holocaust after death shall signifie as well the soule as the bodie of Christ? Can you thus plant and plucke by with a touch? It is no wate denied or doubted by mee, that the soule of Christ was afflicted and tormented with sorrow and paine all the time of his passion; which this Tricker so much labourereth to proue; and therefore if the holocaust did signifie the whole manhood of Christ suffering for our sinnes, it could not preiudice any thing, that I did or doe teach, as anon thou shalt (gentle Reader) more plainlie perceiue; but yet while the burning of the holocaust should signifie Christs affliction on the Crosse, either in bodie or soule, I see no prooffe made by this Confuter; and why it should not resemble Christs afflictions before death, these two reasons moue me. First it was burnt after it was dead; next it was wholis consumed by

¹Leuit. 7. ver. 2

^m pag. 11

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by fire; neither of which can accord with Christs sufferings
 or the crosse: but by the burning of that sacrifice, I take ra-
 ther the acceptation of Christs death, or his incorruption af-
 ter death to be signified. For that part of each sacrifice which
 God reserved for himselfe, and reserved to himselfe, was al-
 wayes burnt with fyre; and the Hebrue word, **HOLA H**, which
 the Scripture vseth for the holocaust, signifieth ^{Gen. 8.} that which
 ascendeth vp to God (by fire;) whence God is often saide in ^{Exod. 29.}
 the scriptures, when hee accepteth an holocaust, to smel a ^{Leuit. 1.}
 swete saour. Which words saint Paul applyeth to the death
 of Christ in saying, Christ gaue himselfe for vs to be a sacrifice
 vnto God of a sweet smelling saour, that is well pleasing and
 acceptable vnto God. So likewise because the fire consu-
 med in the holocaust all that was subiect to corruption, the
 holocaust may signifie Christs incorruption after death. This
 sense S. Austen approueth, when he saith. ^{August. in.} *Sic letet h^{oc} holocaustum
 ut absorbeat^{ur} mors in victoriam*; Let the holocaust so as-
 cend that death bee swallowed vp in victorie. And againe,
Quando totum consumitur igne diuino, holocaustum dicitur. ^{August. in}
Totum meum consumat ignis tuus, nihil inde remaneat mihi, ^{psal. 65.}
totum sit tibi. *Hoc erit in resurrectione mortuorum, quando*
mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem. Cum absorbet ignis diu-
inus mortem nostram, holocaustum est. When the whole sacri-
 fice is consumed with heauenlie fire, it is called an holocaust. Let
 thy fire (o Lord) consume me wholie, let nothing therof remaine
 mine, let the whole be thine: this shall bee in the resurrection
 of the dead, when this mortalitie putteth on immortalitie.
 When Gods fire consumeth our Death, then is it an holocaust.
 An other kinde of holocaust is mentioned by Saint Austen,
 which I mislike not. ^{Idem. in psal.} *Holocaustum est totum igne consump-*
tum. Est quidam ignis flagrantissima charitatis; totus exardescat
igne diuini amoris, qui vult offerre Deo holocaustum. ^{49.} An
 holocaust is when the whole is consumed with fire. There
 is a fire of most seruent charitie, hee must wholie burne with
 the fire of the loue of God, which will offer to God an holocaust.

No man ever burned with this fire comparable to Christ Jesus; whose love towards God and man flamed, as unto death, so after death, most ferventlie. So that touching the holocaust the Confuter presumeth but proueth nothing; and yet if his supposall were granted, it weakeneth not the force of my reason, since by the bodily and bloudie sacrifice shadowed in the law, I do not exclude the torments on the crosse imparted to the soule, or rather wholly discerned by the soule of Christ, but onelie the paines of hell which were neuer figured by anie sacrifice, nor sealed by anie Sacrament of the old or new testament, though now they bee made the principall part of our redemption, which indeede was purchased by the death and blood of Christ Jesus.

In auoiding the reason which I dertie from the Sacraments of the new testament, and namelie from the Lordes Supper, in the length of six lines (Sir refuter) you contradict the definition and institution of that Sacrament, as also the plaine resolution of S. Paul, and the principles of naturall reason. The Sacraments (you saie) are earthlie elements, they cannot set out spirituall and inuisible effects in Christ. I had thought Sacraments by their nature had borne visible signes of inuisible graces, which definition is so common in the schooles, that no smatterer in diuinitie besides you is ignorant of it. [¶] Si tu incorporeus esses, nudè dona ipsa incorporea tibi tradidisset, quoniam vero corpori coniuncta est anima, in sensibilibus intelligibilia tibi traduntur. If thou hadst been without a bodie, God would haue giuen thee his spirituall gifts vncovered; but because thy soule is ioined with thy bodie, in sensible thinges are deliuered thee spirituall (or inuisible) graces. [¶] Where all the Sacraments were common, (saith Augustine) Grace which is the vertue of the Sacraments, was not common to all. [¶] In the Lordes Supper, that there should be no horror of blood, & yet the grace of Redemption might remaine, for a resemblance thou receiuest the Sacrament, but thou obtainest the grace & vertue of (Christis) true nature. So that if those earthly elements of water, be ad
and

[¶] Chyloft. in
Mat. homil. 83.

[¶] In Psal. 77.

[¶] Ambros. de
sacramentis,
lib. 6. cap. 1.

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and wine, did not set out and exhibite the spiritual and inuisi-
ble effects in Christ, they were no Sacraments. [But the *Ceremonie of breaking bread* (say you) cannot properly belong to the *body*, but to the *soule*.] In the first institution of his Supper
did not Christ breake the bread, and delluer it saying, Take
eate, this is my bodie? If breaking belong to the bread, then
breaking belongeth properly to the body of Christ; for the
bread was ordained to be to foorth the body of Christ, & that S.
Paul noteth in expresse words. 'The bread which we break, is it *1. Cor. 10.*
not the Comunion of the body of Christ? But Christs body (you
say) was not properly broken; because scripture saith 'not *Iohn. 19.*
a bone of him shalbe broken. A speculation fit for such a diuine
as you are; had Christs body nothing in it but bones? Had he
not as well flesh as bones? A spirit, saith our saulour, hath not
flesh & bones, as you see me haue. Then if Christs flesh were *Luke. 24.*
rent & tozned with whips, with nailles, with a speare, as it cer-
tainly was, though his bones were whole, his body was pro-
perly & truly broken. For the cutting or tearing of the flesh,
is the breaking of the flesh, and from a part the whole mate
and doth properly take his denomination. And therefore Paul
spake truly and properly when he thus expresseth the words
of Christs institution, This is my body, which is broke for you. *1. Cor. 11.*
Neither doth he in that word varie from Christs institution,
but he rather teacheth vs, that as the bread is broken, and the
wine powzed out in the Lords supper; so was the flesh of the
Lords body giuen to be broken & tozned on the crosse for vs, &
his blood likewise shed for the remission of our sinnes. *The* *Pag. 10.*
nailles & spear, (you grant) did pearce him, but in no sort can that
be called breaking or bruising in peeces, as the worde in Esay doth
plainlie signifie. Wherefore the meaning is the torments of his
soule did bruike and breake him in peeces. Your Hebrue,
your Greeke, & your Philosophie, came all out of one forge,
they are so like. You can not finde that Christs flesh was
broken and bruised on the Crosse by greiuous stripes and
wounds, but you haue spied, that his soule was broken in
peeces

peeces and that properlie. If one of the *Wentices* before
 whome you were wont to talke, should aske you into holie
 manie peeces it was broken, your heade would ake to shape
 him a wise answer. [But the word *DACHA* which *Esay* u-
 seth doth plainly (you say) signifie to breake in peeces.] Doth
 it alwaies and ever signifie properlie to breake into peeces?
 How can it then be applied to the soule, but improperlie and
 by a figurative kinde of speech? A *Spole* hill with you is a
Mountaine. The worde doth signifie to treade vnder foote, to
 bruise, to oppresse, to humble. When *David* saith the enemye
 hath cast my life downe to the ground; Will you saie he hath
 broken my life in peeces? When *Iob* saith, How long will
 yee vex me my soule, and afflict mee with your wordes, will you
 adde, and breake mee in peeces with your wordes? When *Je-*
remie saith of the men of *Iudah*, They are not humbled vnto
 this day; Will you phrase it, and say, They are not broken in
 peeces to this day?

^a Psa. 143. ve. 3

^b Iob. 19. ver. 2

^c Jer. 44. ver. 10

^d 1. Pet. 1.

^e Reuel. 5.

In the power of *Christs* death to moue the blood of our sa-
 uour to be the true price of our redemption, and that as wel
 of our soules as of our bodies; I alledged the words of *Peter*
 You were redeemed with the precious blood of *Christ*; and of
 the soules in heauen saying vnto *Christ*, Thou wast killed, &
 hast redeemed vs to God by thy blood; when their bodies were
 rotten in *earth*. Hence I reasoned, if our soules be not re-
 deemed fro death by the blood of *Christ*, our bodies haue in this
 life no benefite of redemption, I meane from death; for wee
 die as doe infidels, and our bodies rot in the graue as theirs
 doe till the daie of resurrection. But *S. Peter* saith, wee
 are redeemed, not we shall be; and the saints say to *Christ*
 when their bodies lie in the dust, Thou hast redeemed vs by thy
 blood; ergo that redemption which we haue in this life, must
 be referred to our soules; and our bodies must expect the ge-
 nerall daie of redemption in the ende of the world. To this
 our *Confuter* replieth, What a paradox, yea what impietie
 is this? Haue our bodies no good at all by *Christs* death,

^f Pag. 23.

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no more, then the bodies of infidels; because we do feele as well as they? God. He remember, Redemption from death is the point which I begged; y our bodies in this life haue not, no more then the bodies of Infidels haue, but must expect it. And therefore if our Soules be not redeemed by the blood of Christ from sinne & death, we haue presentlie no redemption by the blood of Christ; but must waite for the time of our resurrection before we shall haue it. Which is contrarie to the words both of Peter and of the Soules in heauen, that saie to Christ when their bodies bee rotten in earth, Thou hast redeemed vs by thy blood. Here y tell vs of the iustification, mortification, and sanctification of our bodies, as also of the expectation of glorie, which our bodies shall haue, and thinke to make a great conquest of the words, no good at all; but pull in your horses. Besides that my meaning is verie plaine, whatsoeuer the wordes were, which I might vse, which I doe not acknowledge to be these that you bring, but that our bodies haue no benefite of Redemption from death; marke well the condition annexed to the proposition, If our Soules bee not redeemed by the death and blood of Christ; and then all these absurdities which you thought to fasten on mee, shall fall on your same head. For if our Soules be not redeemed by the blood of Christ, our bodies haue neither god, euen no god at all by the death of Christ. [They haue you saie Iustification, mortification, sanctification, & hope of resurrection, besides the lawfull possession of earthly things.] Haue our bodies these things of themselves, or from our Soules first iustified, mortified, sanctified and assured of life? I trust you dare not saie that our bodies haue any of these, but for and from the Soules. Then if the Soule be not redeemed by the death of Christ, the bodie can haue none of these, and consequentlie my words are sound and good; & yours, if you stand to them against the condition annexed to mine, are prophane and false. [But I alter my words, you will saie, to my best advantage, when I set your obiections to preuent that danger.] It had bene fittest for

you to have hated the printing of mine owne wordes; and
 then you might have charged me with them, and not bee
 repelled as a sluggish, misconstruer of them, as to have
 gotten you a copie of that which I belivered out that vertue
 summer to men of great honour and learning. a yeere and
 more before I ever heard or thought of your pamphlet; be-
 cause I founde to many harmonious heares misconstru-
 ing and misreporting my wordes. But your halfe
 wordes; you could not; as your skill, you would not
 state the sight of mine owne wordes, least they should
 trouble you more then you were ware: and therefore out
 of your owne ill conceited, and worse digested know-
 ledge, you frame objections as pleased your selfe, which
 either were not mine, or not so proposed by me. Now that
 I should not pursue no more of your suppositions, by reason
 I spende more time in recalling you to the truth of my
 wordes, then in refelling your objections, which have
 neither weight nor witness, more then the buying of
 your owne blame. Let us therefore bide to have anell you
 behave your selfe in your owne proofes, which you cannot
 forget or mistake.

In proposing the question, and pursuing the proofes, there
 is some hope, that the readers the fullness of the confuted
 cause will lead them to go placidly & coolly to work, thus there-
 fore be diligently. The whole controversy hath in two points.

[Pag. 1.]

1. That Christ suffered for the wrath of God.
 2. That, after his death on the crosse, he went not into hell.
- Now then for the former, this is a safe and constantly allowd. Christ
 Jesus did suffer in his death, and blood for the redemption and sa-
 tisfaction of our sinnes: yet he suffered properly and immediately
 in his soule and not in his flesh only. Therefore he suffered for us
 the wrath of God. This consequent is manifest and cannot be de-
 nied. The antecedent or first part of the former generall reason is
 denied and confidently proved, yet how falselie by Gods helpe shall
 be shewed.

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easily appeare. Touching the first part of this controversie,
 were you awaked or a sleepe. (So it saith) when I preached
 of these things, that you so constantlie answere this was the
 question, whether Christ suffered for us the wrath of God or
 no? If you were present and not a sleepe, it is too much bold-
 nes to outface the world in print, that this was the position
 which I impugned. There were too many witnesses there,
 for mee to denie, or you to helpe the question; you knowe it
 well enough, but you cannot tell how to prove that which I
 then reproved, and therefore you speak from that, and dallye
 with generall and doubtfull termes, which according as they
 are expounded, may either make with you, or against you.
 The question proposed by me, was, whether it could be pro-
 ued by the scriptures, or by necessary consequent from them,
 that Christ in his soule suffered the true paines of hell such as
 the damned doe suffer, and wee shoulde have suffered, had we
 not beene redeemed by him? I added, if wee tooke the paines
 of hell metaphoricallie for great and extreame sorrowes
 and paines, as David and Ionas did, the speech might be tol-
 lerated; but if wee tooke them properlie for the verie same
 which the damned doe and shall suffer in hell, as there is no
 proofe for it, so there is no truth in it. To this you say no-
 thing, and so to all wile men make a confession that you
 cannot iustifie that, which I then disallowed. We hee come
 since to tell us that certaintie Christ suffered the wrath of
 God for us; which if it be granted you, I doe not see what
 it canne helpe your cause, or hurt mine. For the wrath of
 God extendeth to all paines and punishments as well cor-
 porall as spirituall, in this life and the next, be they tem-
 porall or eternall. So that no paine or punishment small
 or great coulde befall the bodie or soule of Christ, but it must
 needs proceed from the wrath of God. Therefore your idle
 discourse of 22. leaves, in which you labor to prove that Christ
 suffered the wrath of God for sinne, might wel have beene spar-
 red. These lines directed to the purpose had bin more worth

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then so many leanes that too much is spent, But in the ende
you conclude like a Clark, Christ suffered the wrath of God,
which we affirme is equall to hell it selfe, and all the tormentes
thereof. What you affirme I little regarde; what you can
proove is that I intend. And out of this proposition Christ suf-
fered for vs the wrath of God for sinne, you shall neuer con-
clude; Ergo hee suffered the true paines of hell. Where your
proposition getherall that Christ suffered all the wrath of
God for sinne, that is the whole wrath of God and every part
thereof due to sinne, you might well conclude; Ergo hee suffe-
red the true paines of hell; for hell inuade as it is the last, so
is it the greatest effect of Gods wrath against sin; but from
an indefinite proposition as yours is, which may signifie
the WHOLE or SOME PART of GODS WRATH due
to sinne, you shall neuer inferre what part you list, as here
you doe.

Will you, to make your consequent good, amend your an-
tecedent and make it generall, that Christ suffered the whole
wrath of God; & every part thereof due to sinne. Then heare
good Sir, mine answer. That proposition, besides that it
doe not followeth upon your first antecedent; Christ suffered
properly and immediately in his soule, therefore he suffered
the whole wrath of God and every part thereof due to sinne;
besides I saie that there is no coherence, no consequence be-
twixt these two propositions; the later of them, that Christ
suffered the whole wrath of God due to sinne, and every part
thereof, is most impious and blasphemous. For so neither vice-
desperation, nor final refection, nor eternal damnation are ex-
ception; but Christ did and must suffer them all; since they are
partes, pen the chiefest partes and effectes of Gods wrath
against sinne. This is far from your meaning, as you often
protest. Trueth I beleue it; charitie leades me to thinke,
though you be somewhat foolish in this cause, that yet you are
not so diuellish as to fallen these things on the sonne of God.
But you must also be so wise as to sae, that if your antecedent
be

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be general the ſe will follow, whether you mean them or no: if your antecedent be not general, but indefinite, as, Chriſt ſuffered the wrath of God due to ſinne, that is ſome partes and effectes of Gods wrath due to ſinne, you ſhall neuer make choiſe in your concluſion which parts he ſuffered, as namelie the true paines of hel: of the damned. Now choſe which you will, either the trivialitie of your argument, or the impietie of your antecedent; the one will proue you to lack learning, that you ſe not the difference; the other that you want chriſtianitie, if you ſhould not with mouth diſſeſſim, and with hart deteſt that horrible blaſphemie.

You will pretend I knowe, your concluſion is not general; no more indeed it is; your words are, therefore Chriſt ſuffered for vs the wrath of God, but this concluſion being indefinite, and verie doubtful, will do you no good in the ſatisfieng of your cauſe. For Chriſt may ſuffer the wrath of God in his bodie, yet in his ſoule hee maie ſuffer it, and yet not the paines of the damned, or of hell: but becauſe you make this the maine foundation of your whole matter, let vs looke ſomewhat better into it. You labour to proue by a long proceſſe that Chriſt ſuffered the wrath of God for ſinne. Firſt then what ſinne you by the wrath of God? I hope you doe not meane ſinle inward affection or perturbation in God, but as you expounde your ſelfe the vniuerſe effectes of his iuſt wrath; you ſhoulde ſaie, of his iuſtice and power puniſhing ſinne. And this warning (gentle Reader) if thou bee ſimple I muſt giue thee, (for the learned knowe it of themſelues) that when thou reađeſt in the ſcriptures, of heareſt me ſpeak of the wrath of God, thou doeſt not imagine that God is troubled with any inward mutation, but the puniſhment ordained for ſinne by the iuſtice of God, or inflicted on vs when we haue ſinned by the hand of God, (what ſoetier mean it pleaſe him to be) is called the wrath of God. Ambroſe ſaith well; *Ira eſt non ei qui iudicat, ſed illi qui iudicatur*; It is no wrath to God that iudgeth, but to him that is

¹ Greg. moral.
lib. 20. cap. 24

² August. de
ciuitate dei.
lib. 15. cap. 25

³ August. in
Psal. 78.

is iudged: *Quia culpa peccati ira scilicet*, saith Grego-
rie; God is saide to be angry; because he punisheth our finnes;
And so Aulen. *Ira dei non pertinet ad inimicitias est; sed
iudicium quo irrogatur pena peccato*. The wrath of God is
no affection of mind in him, but his iudgment whereby punish-
ment is inflicted for sinne. The conclusion is; *nomine ira
intelligitur vindicta iniquitatis*, by the name of (Gods) wrath
is vnderstoode the punishment of iniquity. It is then eu-
dent that by the name of (Gods) wrath, throughout the scrip-
tures, is vnderstoode the vengeance or punishment prepa-
red or inflicted for the finnes of men. Nowe what particu-
lar punishments God hath provided for sinne as well in
this life, as the next, to chastise and reuenge both the bo-
dies and soules of sinners, would aske long time to re-
hearse. The greatest and sorest are these iudgements,
which are executed on the wicked, in the world to come; to
witte; refection from the kingdome of God, and condem-
nation to hell fire, where not onely darknesse amazeth the
eyes, and remembrance of sinne committed afflicteth the
conscience; but an intolerable flame of fire tormenteth
both soule and bodie for ever. These terrible iudgements
of God against sinne the Scriptures publish and de-
nounce to men in this life; that if the loue of heauen doe
not winne them to obedience, the feare of hell shoulde hold
them from resisting and contemning God. The greatest
torment that in this life canne befall a sinner is desperati-
on; when the soule of man, convinced in her selfe by the
number of her heinous offences, loseth all hope of life to
come, and casteth her selfe whole on the fearefull torments
of hell prepared for her; the continuall thought and feight
thereof doe so amaze and afflict the comfortlesse soule,
that shee sinking vnder the burden feeles in her selfe the
horror of hell before shee come to it. So that the losse
of heauen, and feare of hell maie torment wicked and
desperate persons in this life; but the execution thereof,
after

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after this life, shall haue an other manner of affliction, paine, and torment, then they can see yet conceiue. If the thought of these iudgements and punishments, ordained by Gods power and iustice for sinners, so afflict men, what shall the sight doe? If the feare of hell bee so intolerable, what shall the shame bee? When therefore you saie (Sir Refuter) Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God; wee must not content our selues with that generall worde, you must tell vs in particular what partes and effectes of Gods wrath Christ endured, before you canne shew that which bee suffered, to bee equall to hell and all the tormentes thereof. Did hee suffer hell fire either in soule, or in bodie? the damned shall suffer it in both. Did hee stand or feare himselfe to be excluded from the kingdome of God: the damned doe see the miselucke shut out for ever. If hee neither felt, nor feared the MYSTERY, OR VOYAGE, the PAINES of hell, nor so much as DOUBTED the LOSS of Gods kingdome, what tormentes equall to hell canne you name vs? [The wrath of God you will saie, is equall to hell and all the tormentes thereof]. The wrath of God is hell, and so are all the tormentes of hell; yea they are the sharpest effectes of Gods wrath against sinne. And therefore neuer plaie with generalities and ambiguities, but expresse plainly what other effectes of Gods wrath you meane. For since the losse of heauen, the darkenesse, worme, and fire of hell, and the feare of both bee the greatest and sorest iudgements of God against sinne, that are decreed by his iustice, reuealed by his word, and executed by his power in this life or the next: wee plainelie and truthfully saie you can name no none other effectes of Gods wrath equall to these. If then it be haionous impietie to saie, Christ suffered these, and none other are equall to these, take backe your lashing butt ruth, that Christ suffered the effectes of Gods wrath, equal to hell and all the tormentes thereof; for my part I see neither sense nor reason in it.

"But it shall be found to be and evidently proven. Will you
 prove you know not what I tell first what effects of gods
 wrath you meane, and then on with your proofes. Your mean-
 ing may be such as you shall next prove. It may be such
 as we will easily graunt. For touching your words which you
 take for the cause of your cause, Christ suffered for vs the wrath
 of God; know you god say, Christ suffered nothing at his
 passion either in body or soule, were it little or great, but it
 was an effect of Gods wrath punishing Sinne, or as you
 delight to speake, it was the wrath of God. Well, if you be
 so loath to expresse your mind, for feare you betwixt your
 cause, let vs heare your proofes; "Thus wee saie and constancie
 "anow: Christ Iesus did suffer in his whole manhood for the Re-
 "demption and satisfaction of our Sinnes; you ha suffered properly
 "and immediatlie in his soule and not in his flesh onlie. As you
 haue begonne so you will goe on; talking is your profession,
 you did your selfe wrong when you came to writing. This
 Antecedent as you utter it (your meaning is secret to your
 selfe) both neither god nor hurt to the Question. That Christ
 suffered in his whole manhood for the Redemption of our
 Sinnes is a thing by mee neuer doubted, nor denied; the
 doubt is, what he suffered in his whole manhood; now what th
 ech part of his manhood; for that he suffered all that he suffer-
 ed in his whole manhood your selfe doe disclaime in the next
 page, when you saie, "This precious Passion was in his soule
 "properly and immediatlie, seeing then his bodie was not touched
 "with anie smart. And when I gaue the causes that might bee
 of Christs agonie in the garden, did I so much as pretend that
 anie of them then touched his bodie, when he was affected
 with this passion of mind? And except this be your meaning,
 that Christ suffered some things for our Redemption in his
 whole manhood, and some things properly and immediatlie
 in his soule, your Antecedent hath a flatte contradiction in
 it selfe. For if he suffered all, that he suffered, in his whole
 manhood, how could hee suffer anie thing properly and
 immediatlie

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immediatlie in his soule: which is the second part of your owne Antecedent. And if that bee the drift of your generall reason, about which you spende 32. leaues, you maie sit downe and begin againe a newe pamphlet, that shall haue some moze certaintie then this hath. For heere you rone, neither expresseing, nor indeede knowing what you woulde haue; onlie you hide your selfe in this generall phrase, that *Christ suffered the wrath of God for sinne*; but vnlesse you specifie what he suffered, I do not meane to babble with you, or with anie other, about generall and vncertaine speeches. What hee suffered moze then the scriptures expresse, (for I faithfully beleue all that is there written) I doe not easilie admit you, or anie other such pzetumer, to deliuer vpon your credits; when you declare what you meane, and pzooue that you saie, you shall soone haue an answer.

[*Christ (you saie) assumed not our nature, nor any part of it, but ONLY to suffer in it properly and immediately, euen for the very purchasing of our redemption thereby. Otherwise he had no neede to assume both, but either the one part or the other.*] See what it is (good Reader) for a man to loose himselfe in the wildernesse of his owne will. To pzooue that *Christ suffered both in bodie and soule*, which is a thing by no man denied (for the question is, what he suffered, and not whether soule and bodie were ioined in *Christs* sufferings?) this Refuter leappeth ouer head and eares into absurdities, not onely against diuinitie, but euen against nature, and the verie law of our first creation. That the sonne of God had no END nor PURPOSE in taking our nature vnto his in the bittie of person, but ONLY to suffer for our finnes, is a bolde and lewd ouersight; his ende and purpose in taking our nature was not onlie to suffer for vs, but to doe all that for vs, which in his life time, and after his death, by his resurrection, ascension, and mediation he did, doth, and will do for vs. By his owne mouth he reuealed to vs his fathers will from heauen; by his example of life he taught vs all perfection of holinesse;

by his rising he swallowed by our death; by his intercession we receaue all the giftes and graces of God, which we haue or shall haue; by his sitting in heauen with our flesh, he giueth vs assurance that our mortall bodies shall bee changed, like to his glorious bodie; yea the verie vnion of our nature to his is an effectuall meane to make vs one with him, as he is one with God. Had Christ not bene man, we could haue had no interest in the fulnes of his obedience, in the riches of his graces, in the Communion of his spirit, in the fellowship of his glorie, which are the helpes, supportes, and meanes of our saluation, as well as his suffering for vs; and man he coulde not bee without a soule and a bodie; neither part ioyned with his diuine nature was sufficient to make him a man. By the lawe of our first creation we are men consisting of bodies and soules; and therefore Christ as our heade must haue both, NOT ONELIE

TO SUFFER FOR SINNE, but also to quicken, sanctifie, and glorifie both our soules and bodies that hee may perseuer our saluation, and bying vs to GOD, without reiecting or excludiing either parte of our nature. Yea so aduised you are, Sir Refuter, in your reasons, that by your owne assertion you conclude Christes flesh to bee needelesse for our Redemption: for thus you saie;

" This suffering (of the soule by her bodie which is natural and by sympathie onelie) PROPERLIE DID NOT MAKE TO OUR REDEMPTION. What is suffering, good Sir, in your learning? The receauiing of the blowes, or the feeling of the paine? If you beate or cut a deade carkas, that hath neither life nor sense, will you saie it suffereth? I thinke not. There must then bee life and sense in the bodie, before it canne suffer or feele any paine. Nowe, life and sense, pertaine they to the bodie or else to the soule? If you knewe not before, as by the vnlearned discourse it seemeth you did not, Saint Austen shall teach you; except you will shooke him in this point,

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point, as you do in others. *Si diligentius consideremus, dolor, qui dicitur corporis, magis ad animā pertinet. Anima enim est do-* = August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 21. cap. 3
lère, non corporis, etiam quando ei dolendi causa existit a cor-
pore, cum in eo loco dolet, ubi laeditur corpus. Sicut ergo dici-
mus corpora sentientia & corpora viuentia cum ab anima sit cor-
poris sensus & vita; ita et corpora dicimus dolentia, cum dolor
corporis nisi ab anima esse non possit. If wee well consider, the
paine which is called bodilie paine, belongeth rather to the
soule. The soule feeleth the paine, not the bodie euen when
the cause of paine commeth from the bodie, and the soule
grieueth in the place where the bodie is hurte; As then
wee saie bodies are liuing and feeling, when the life and
sense of the bodie is by the soule; so saie wee bodies full
of paine, when the paine of the bodie cannot bee felte but
by the soule. And so againe; *Dolores qui dicuntur car-* Idem de ciui-
tate dei, lib. 14.
cap. 15
nis anima sunt in carne & ex carne; dolor carnis tantummo-
do offensio est anima ex carne. The paines which are called
bodilie paines, are the paines of the soule in the bodie and by
the bodie. For bodilie paine is nothing else but the grieue
of the soule by the bodie. Whereof Diuines make not
doubte, since naturall reason and experience teacheth,
that as the soule seeth by the eyes, and heareth by the eares
of the bodie; so the soule feeleth paine and offence by euerie
part of the bodie, when it is wounded or wronged. If this
suffering of Christs soule, by communion with his bodie,
did not properlie make to our Redemption, which are your
own words; then neither the stripes, woundes, nor death of
Christ did any way make to our redemption; since of all these
violences offered to Christs bodie, the flesh it selfe had not
the feeling but onlie the soule of Christ by communion with
her bodie, or as you terme it, by *Sympathie*. Yea farther,
by your owne rule, the flesh of Christ was needlesse in
the worke of our Redemption, for so much as his flesh could
not properly and immediatlie feele any paine; but of force

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must leaue the feeling of all that was suffered to the soule; and so whiles you talke so much of the proper and immediat e suffering of Christs soule, you haue cleane excluded all the sufferings of Christ, which the scripture expresseth, as not making properlie to our redemption.

[Pag. 19.]

“ [But ¹insteede of a false argument of mine, you will returne a
 “ reason better grounded, and of certaine truth; which is this;
 “ Whereby Adam first, and we euer since doe most properlie commit
 “ sinne, by the same hath Christ our second Adam made satisfac-
 “ tion for our sinne. But Adam first, and we euer since most proper-
 “ lie commit sinne in our soules, our bodies beeing but the instru-
 “ ments of our soules, and following the soules direction and will.
 “ Therefore Christ in his soule chieslie and most properly made satis-
 “ faction for vs.] Thou shalt perceiue (christian reader) by the
 answer to this argument, howe ill I spend the time in pur-
 suing this Tricker, which neither can tel what he would haue,
 nor what he should proue, nor whether his own reasons make
 with him or against him. I made no such argument as here
 he pretendeth; the effect of my reason was this. The flesh of
 Christ must be as able to redeeme vs as Adams was to con-
 demne vs: but we inherit pollution and condemnation from
 Adams flesh; therefore the flesh of Christ must both quicken
 and cleanse vs. The Maior is euident, vnlesse we make the di-
 uell more able to destroye vs by an other, then God is able to
 saue vs by himselfe. The Minor is clere, without intermed-
 ling with the question, whence soules be deriued. I vtterlie
 refused to ground anie reason vpon that difficultie; I vsed
 Dauids words, in sinne my mother conceiued me, and as Am-
 brose saith, “ *prius incipit in homine macula quam vita*; pollu-
 tion (which is original) beginneth in man before hee hath life.
 Now the soule is the life of the bodie. When if pollution cleaue
 to the flesh befoze life come, and consequentlie befoze the
 soule come, whence soeuer it commeth; it is euident that A-
 dams flesh defileth and so condemneth vs. As for my conclu-
 sion that Christs flesh must quicken and cleanse vs, if the
 premises

Vide pag e. 104

“ In Apologia
 Dauid, ca. 11.

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p^remisses would not support it, which they fully doe; the
 Scriptures will maintaine it. ² He that eateth my flesh (saith
 our Saviour) and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life, and I ¹ Iohn 6.
 will raise him vp at the last daie. I am that bread of life. If anie
 man eate of this bread, he shall liue for euer, and the bread that
 I will giue, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.
 My reason standing good, Sir Refuter, let vs looke a little
 to yours, that you saie is so well grounded, and of certaine
 truth. Now p^rooue you your first p^roposition, *In which part* ²²
Adam did first sinne, by that part Christ must satisfy for sinne? ²³
 Satisfaction for sinne the Scripture acknowledgeth none
 but by death; because ¹ Iudge in prohibiting Adam to trans-
 gresse threatned death; ¹ In the day that thou eatest thereof thou ¹ Gene. 2.
 shalt die the death; and the Apostle saith plainly; ² Christ is the ² Hebrues 9.
 mediator of the new testament, that THROUGH DEATH,
 which was for the REDEMPTION of the transgressions in the
 former Testament, they which were called might receiue the
 promise of eternall inheritance. If nothing might satisfie for
 sinne but death; then consequently the Soule of Christ which
 could not die, could not paie the satisfaction for our sinnes,
 howsoever Adam did, and we still doe sinne, most properlie
 with our Soules. This is but a straw in your wate; for you
 sⁱste, but absurdly, if not impiously defend, that Christ died
 the death of the Soule; yet because the Scriptures and Fa-
 thers with one consent anouch the contrarie, yea S. Austen ^{Vide pag 79.}
 is so peremptorie therein that he asketh, QVIS AVDEAT
 DICERE, VVHO DARE AFFIRME IT? you shall giue mee
 leave to tell you that the Apostle denieth your Maior, till you
 can make it good, not by your owne vnlearned s^rensie, but by
 godd testimonie of Scripture, that Christ did die the death of
 the Soule. Now by your assumption, that Adam most proper-
 lie committed sinne in his soule; If you mean that Adams soule ²²
 was the agent, his body the Instrument which the soule vsed
 as in all sins, so in this; that indeed is most true, but directly
 repugnant to your conclusion. But that for your Minor, that

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Adams soule transgressed the commaundement with hir bodie and by hir bodie; the conclusion then followeth in spite of your hart; ergo in satisfiing for sinne the Soule of Christ must be punished with hir bodie & by hir bodie; which is the thing you labour to overthrow with all the wits you haue. Meane you otherwise that Adam brake the Commaundement of God, not by his bodie properlie, but by his soule? Then is your assumption a manifest contradiction to the fact of Adam. For with his eares he heard the perswasion of the woman, with his eyes he liked the forbidden fruit, with his hand he toke it, with his mouth he did eat it, which was the fact that God precisele did prohibit. God did not saie to Adam thou shalt not like it, or desire it, which the soule of Adam did, but **THOU SHALT NOT EATE THEREOF**, which could not bee performed but by the hand and mouth of Adam: and therefore Adam transgressed the commaundement not by his soule, but by his bodie, euen as in murder, theft, & adulterie, these facts men commit by their bodies and not by their soules.

[But in that and all other sinnes brought to effect, the soule, you will saie, is the principall agent, the bodie is but the Instrument.] I grant it willingly; and thence I conclude, ergo in the satisfiacion for sinne, the soule must be the principall patient and dolent, and the bodie by Gods iustice must be the instrument of her paine. And here marke I praye thee (Christian Reader) whether this one argument doe not vtterlie overthrow all that this sole discourser hath doone, and would doe in this whole pamphlet. For nothing is more proportionable to Gods iustice, then to soine them in paine, that were soynd in sinne; and to retaine the same order in punishing, which they kept in offending. But all prouocations and pleasures of sinnes the soule taketh from her bodie, all acts of sinne she committeth by her bodie: therefore the iustice of God both temporallie and eternallie

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eternallie punisheth the soule by the bodie; that as it hath
beene the Instrument of her pleasure, so it shall bee of
her paine. And if **G D D** obserue this course as well in
his tempozall as eternall vengeance on the sinnes of men,
whie then shoulde not the sufferinges of **Christs** soule by
his bodie bee truelie and properlie a satisfaction for sinne,
which this great Docto^r a little before said, made not properlie,
to our Redemption?

Pag. 18.

For thy better instruction, gentle Reader, and my dis-
charge, that the soule taketh her occasions to sinne, vseth
her delightes in sinne, and perfourmeth her attemptes
of sinne, with and by the bodie, giue mee leane in this
point to bee somewhat the longer.

² *Caro est officina spi-ritus, qui in ea et per eam, quaecunque affectu anxit, peragit & consummat.* The flesh (saith Cyprian) is the forge of the
soule, which in that and by that acteth and performeth, what-
soeuer it affecteth.

¹ Cyprian in
prolog de na-
tuitate Christi

² *Per quinque sensus, quasi per quasdam*
fenestras vitiorum ad animam est introitus. By the fiue senses
of the bodie (saith Ierome) as it were by certaine windowes,
vices (or sinnes) haue their entrance into the soule.

¹ Hier. contra
Iouin. lib. 2

^b *Nusquam anima sine carne est quamdiu est in carne; NIHIL NON*
CVM ILLA AGIT, sine qua non est; siquidem in
carne, & cum carne, & per carnem agitur ab anima,
quod agitur in corde.

¹ Tertullian, de
resurrect. cara-
nis.

The soule (saith Tertullian) is no
where without the flesh, as long as it is in the flesh. SHEE
DOETH NOTHING VWITHOVT THAT, without which
shee is not. Euen that which is done in the heart, the soule
doth in her flesh, with her flesh, and by her flesh: **Pea** hee
pulleth it farther and saith;

^c *Ad eo non sola anima tran-*
sigit vitam, vt nec cogitatus licet solos, licet non ad effectum
per carnem deductos, auferamus a collegio carnis. Et sine opere et
sine effectu cogitatus, carnis est actus. Negent factorum socia-
tem, cui negare non possunt cogitatorum. Et si anima est, qua a-
git & impellit in omnia, carnis obsequium est. So farre it is that
the

¹ Ibidem.

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the soule alone doth perfourme this life, that the VERIE THOUGHTS IN THEM SELVES, neuer brought to effect, we take not fro the fellowship of the flesh. Yea the very thought VVITHOVT ACT, VVITHOVT EFFECT, IS A DEEDE OF the flesh. Let them now denie that to be the soules companion in works, which they cannot denie to bee her companion in thoughts. For though it be the soule, that mooueth and leadeth to all things, yet the flesh addeth her seruice. And least it should seeme strange that he affirmeth, he pointeth to the words of our Saviour, ^d out of the hart come euill thoughts. How true this is that Tertullian here voucheth thou shalt soon perceiue (gentle Reader) if thou behould men in SLEEPE, in FRENZIES, in LETHARGIES, in APOPLEXIES; where the substance of the soule is no waie touched or decayed; but onely the Instruments of her bodie, which she vseth in perceiving, rememb'ring, vnderstanding anie thing, are disordered, or obstructed. The experience hereof, is so easie and euident euen to the simplest among men, that I shall neede to spend no more words to the learned. Tertullians conclusion is this. *deum non licet aut iniustum iudicē credi, aut inertem; iniustum, si sociam bonorum operum a premiis arceat; inertem, si sociā malorū a suppliciis secernat. Non sit particeps in sententia caro, si non fuerit & in causa. Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quas opera coniungit.* We maie not thinke God to bee an iniurious, or a negligent Iudge: iniurious, if he exclude the (soules) companion in good works from (the soules) reward; negligent, if he excuse the (soules) partner in euill, from the (soules) punishments. Let the flesh haue no part in the sentence, if it had no part in the cause. They cannot be seuered in wages, that were ioyned in worke. If Tertullians assumption be true, that in this life the soules can neither work, speake, perceiue, desire, nor think good or euill without the Instruments of her bodie; (excepting alwaies Gods power to inspire what pleaseh him; for hee that framed the soule can alter and chaunge it at his liking, by the immediate working of his spirit;) If Tertullians conclusion

^dMatth 15.

Ibidem de resurrectione carnis.

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clussion be true, that God the righteous iudge of the world in his euerlasting reward of obedience, & likewise in his eternall vengeance for sinne will ioine and comple both bodie and soule together; then apparentlie NO SVFFERINGS ARE SO FIT IN THE PERSON OF THE REDEEMER FOR THE SATISFACTION of sinne, as those VVHICH ARE COMMON TO BOTH PARTS OF MAN, & namcly which the soule suffereth from her bodie & by her bodie; which ouerthroweth all the Confuters vnsalted and vnsettled discourse of the soules proper and immediate suffering in the person of Christ Jesus.

Doe I then denie that the soule hath anie sufferings in this life and the next, which come not by the bodie? By no meanes. For though those conioined sufferings be most answerable to sinnes committed; yet the soule hath some proper punishments in this life, as sorrow and feare, when the bodie hath no hurt, from which Christ was not free as appeereth by his Agonie: and so in the next the soules of the wicked haue griepe and remorse besides the paine of fier. The remembrance of sinne shall not a little torment the wicked, but perpetuallie afflict and gnaw their consciences as a worme that neuer dieth. The losse of Gods fauour and kingdome shall not a little graue them, when they see others receiued into that eternall ioye and blisse, and themselves excluded. ¹ *Gehenna grauius est a dei beneuolentia excidere*; to fall from Gods fauour (saith Chrysostome) is more grieuous then hell it selfe; and againe, ² *Ego illius gloria amissionem multo amarius quam ipsius gehenna supplicium esse dico. Intolerabilis quidem res est gehenna: quis nesciat & supplicium illud horribile? tamen si mille quis ponat gehennas, nihil tale dicturus est quale est a beata illius gloria honore repelli.* The losse of that (euerlasting) glorie I saie is farre bitterer then the torments of hell it selfe. Hell is an intolerable thing, and an horrible punishment: who knoweth it not? Yet if a man

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would

¹ Chrysost. in Genes. homil.

² Chrysost. in Mat. homil. 24

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would put a thousand hels hee shall saie no such thing as this is, to bee repelled from the honour of that blessed glorie. Neither of these two could be in the person of our Saviour, much lesse the paine of hell fier; no nor so much as the feare or doubt, that anie of these should or could light vpon him; which amazeth and d2ueth the wicked to desperation in this life, and often afrighteth the goodlie, when they behold and consider the horroz of their owne sinnes, and the dreadfull power of the Judge. But this feare could not possesse the soule of our Saviour, being alwaies most assured of Gods fauour, and certaine-ly knowing, not onlie the counsell and decree of his father, that annointed and sent him to saue his people from their sinnes; but chieflie the contunation of his humane nature with his diuine, in the vnitle of his person, which neither sinne, nor death, nor diuell, nor hell could infringe or frustrate: And touching the feare of hell torments, which this discourser would faine hide vnder the name of Gods wrath, heare (Christian Reader) what an ancient father or two saie. Cyrill examining the cause of Christs teares and praters in the garden, and of his words, my soule is sorrowfull vnto death; repelleth the feare of hell to be the cause therof with some indignation.

¶ Cyrill. the-
sauri. lib. 10.
ca. 3.

¶ Idem de rec-
ta fide ad regi-
nas lib. 2 de
sacerdotio
Christi.

¶ Ibidem

Sed infernum timuit, inquit: mirum est quod hac audeant dicere. But he feared hell, they saie: It is a marueilous thing that they dare so saie. And when others affirmed, ^m congruit ipsi mortem formidare, periculum suspicari, flere in tētationibus, et opus habere alterius manu vt seruetur, & ad hac discere obedientiam ex iis qua tētado passus est; It was fit for Christ to feare death, to suspect danger, to weepe in temptations, to haue neede of another to saue him, and to learne obedience by those temptations which he suffered, Cyrill replieth; *hoc est absurdū & loqui & sentire*, this is an ABSVRD BOTH SPEECH AND THOUGHT. His owne opinton is this. ⁿ *Igitur nos eramus in illo, tanquam in secundo generis principio, cum clamor*

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re valido, & non sine lachrymis adorantes, & aboleri mortis imperium, roborarique vitam olim natura donatam precantes.

Therefore wee were in Christ, as in the second roote of our nature, worshipping with strong cries & teares, & praying the imperie of death might bee abolished, and the life which was giuen to man at the first strengthened. ° Achanasius in like

manner. ° *Qui (quaso) non absurdum impiumque, hunc dicere mortem aut infernum exhorruisse, ad cuius conspectum Iani-*

° Athanas, contra Arrianos, serm. 4.

tores inferorum metu se contraxerunt? How I praie you can it be but ABSURD and IMPIOVS to saie that (Christ) feared death or hell, at the sight of whom the keepers of hell for feare shruncke awaie? Hilarie hauing cited Christs praier in the garden, and his complaint on the Crosse, and his commending his soule into his fathers hands, as proofes brought by others of Christs feare at the tyme of his passion, saith; *P hoc legens, & non intelligens, aut pie tacuisses,*

P Hilarius de Trinitate lib: 10:

aut etiam religiose intelligentiam eius orasses: non magis per impudentem assertionem stulto furore veritatis incapax vagaueris. Anne tibi metueret infernum chaos, & torrentes flammamas, & omnem panarum ultricium abyssum credendus est, dicens latroni in cruce, Amen dico tibi, hodie tecum eris in Paradiso? Reading this and not vnderstanding it, thou shouldest either with pietie hould thy peace, or religiouslie praie for the right vnderstanding thereof, and not with an impudent assertion wander in a foolish madnesse, as vncapable of the trueth. Wilt thou belecue Christ feared hell gulfe, and those burning flames and depth of penall vengeance, when as hee told the thiefe on the Crosse, verelie I saie to thee, this daie shalt thou bee with mee in Paradice? What would these fathers haue saied to these that defend Christ suffered the verie same torments of hell which the damned doe, when they are soe earnest against such as imagined Christ might haue some feare of hell?

In that which is past I haue giuen thee a view (Christ-

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an Reader) how scornfully this Confuter reiecteth the iudgments of the auncient fathers by mee alleaged touching the causes of Christs agonie in the garden, and his complaints on the Crosse; as likewise how forgetfullie hee changeth, or purposelic maimeth my reasons, that hee maie the better auoyde them: and thirdlie how vncertaine his propositions, and how lame his conclusions are, that hee maketh for his owne side, yea often such as ouerthrowe his owne assertion; Thou shalt heare now some of his speciall reasons, as hee calleth them; but as the truth is, some of his speciall absurdities, and impeties; wherein I will be no longer then of force I must bee; I take little pleasure in raking such an vncleane sinke.

^a Pag. 34.

^c The first is:^k *Christ suffered the paines and sorrowes for sinne which we should.* This proposition (Sir confuter) if you take it indefinitely as it lieth; proueth nothing for you: you maie do well to goe to the Vniuersitie againe, whence you came afore you were wise, and there learne to put quantitie to your propositions, that wee maie know when you speake of any thing, whether you meane ALL or SOME: for if you meane here, that Christ suffered ALL that wee should, this proposition is an horrible blasphemie: then Christ suffered the LOSSE of Gods GRACE, SPIRIT, FAVOUR, LIFE, and KINGDOME, for so should wee; then hee was plunged into finall desperation, irreuocable malediction, and eternall condemnation; for so should wee. [You are farre from that frensie, you will saie.] I hope so too; neither doe I charge you with it; but if your proposition bee generall you cannot auoide it; and therefore, after your loose and trifling manner, you sette downe a doubtfull assertion, that maie serue for all, or for part of y^e which wee should haue suffered. If you meane but part, then your proposition proueth no such thing, as you intend. For you would faine from hence inferre, that Christ suffered the paines of hell, which were due to vs; & if hee suffered but part

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part of that which wee should, a wise Christian will suppose
anle part, rather then the paines of hell; howbeit the Apostle
teacheth mee to saie that ¹ Christ died for our Sinnes according ¹ 1 Cor. 15.
to the Scriptures, and that death was the death of the Crosse,
^m He humbled himself & became obedient vnto death, euen to ^m Phil. 2.
the death of the crosse. [That is no sufficiēt answere, you wil
saie; because on the Crosse ⁿ He sustained our sorrowes, as ⁿ Esai. 53
Esai said he should.] The wordes of Esai are not, as you
would faine haue them, he bare A LL our sorrowes, for then he
must haue sorowed for the losse of gods grace, fauour & king-
dome, as I said before; but the pꝛophet saith, he bare our sor-
rowes, which may receiue a double construction, and either of
them verie religious and christian. The first, what soeuer he
felt or suffered it was ours, not his owne, that is for our
sakes, and for our Sinnes. This the Pꝛophet in the words
following confirmeth, He was wounded for our transgressions,
He was bruized for our iniquities. The next is, he sustained our
sorrowes that is such weaknes, faintnes, & wearines, as are
incident to our nature; and that the Pꝛophet confesseth in
the words before, He is a man full of sorrowes, and hath experi-
ence of infirmities, euen of such as naturallie offend & afflict
vs. But when the scripture saileth you, you die to similitudes
of your owne making, and where Paule saith, ^o Christ gaue ^o 1 Timot. 2.
himselfe a rancome for all; ^p you saie, ^p the Scripture speaking ^p Pag. 34
beere after the common vse, and custome of redeeming cap-
tines taken in warre. doth meane that Christ paid for vs THE
SAME PRICE which else wee should haue paid. First those
told you that the Scripture speaketh here after the common
vse of Enemies, since in our Saluation the sonne of God
interposed himselfe as a mediator with his father, to an-
swere what the iustice of God would require at the hands
of his sonne, for the pardoning of a seruant, that had offen-
ded: You and your friends cannot abide to heare, that the
enemie who had vs in captiuitie should haue any price for
our deliuerance; you condemne that as a Spanischeisme;
and

and doe you nowe for an advantage bidge that the enemy must haue a price for his captiue? Secondlie the price that wee shoulde haue paide was eternall condemnation of bodie and soule into hell fire. If Christ paide the same, looke wel least with seeking helpe from an enemy, you light not on open blasphemie. I aslie to toyne with you in your owne similitude, is it not the common vse in warres to redeeme captiuitie with monie? The Captiue himselfe is tyed to perpetuall imprisonment or seruitude; bee that will ransom a prisoner is not bounde to bee a prisoner himselfe, but to yeelde such recompence in money or otherwise, as the conquerour shall demaunde. So that euen by your owne comparison, it is euident, the sonne of GOD in redeeming vs was not tied to our captiuitie, but might yeelde his Father a greater recompence for our absolution, then our condemnation would haue amounted vnto.

Page 35.

Your seconde speciall folite (Sir Confuter) is ground-
 ed vpon the wordes of Saint Paule. *Christ redeemed vs from
 the curse of the Lawe beeing made a curse for vs.* Whence
 you reason; *It is vaine and senselesse to thinke that the A-
 postle speaketh here of two seuerall kindes of curses. And if Christ
 sustained anie curse for vs, what curse could it be? not the curse
 of the lawe? or what was it? not the curse of God? If you aske
 to learne, you may bee soone taught. If you aske to brag,
 you maie be soone coled. The curse of God vpon the sinne
 of man proceedeth from the wrath of God against the sinne
 of man; howbeit God curseth not onelie sinners, but other
 his creatures, with whom he is not angrie, but only because
 they shoulde not serue the pride and lustes of the wicked.*
 When Adam transgressed, God cursed the earth for his
 sinne in saying, *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, thornes and
 thistles shall it bring thee.* For not onelie the soules and bo-
 dies of the wicked are cursed and consumed with plagues
 resting in them, and on them; but all that they take in hand,
 and

Genes. 3

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and all that belongeth to them is accursed like wisse. ¶ If thou wilt not (saith Moses) obey the voice of the Lorde thy God to doe all his commaundementes, then all these curses shall come vpon thee and ouertake thee. Curfed shall thy basket bee, and thy store. Curfed shall bee the fruite of thy bodie, and the fruite of thy lande, the increase of thy kine, and the flockes of thy sheepe. The Lorde will sende vpon thee cursing in all that which thou settest thine hande to doe, vntill thou bee destroyed and perish, because of the wickednesse of thy workes. The rest of **G D D S** curses there numbred vnto the ende of that Chapter, and laide vpon bodie and soule, wisse and children, goods and landes, life and death of such as transgresse; peruse (gentle Reader) at thy pleasure, and thou shalt easilie see, how farre the curse of **G D D** in this life pursueth sinners; besides the horrible tormentes of the nexte life kept in store for them. So that as I did in the wrath of God, I must in the curse of God aske you (Sir Confuter) whether you meane that Christ suffered for vs the whole curse of the lawe, or parte thereof: if you aunswere the whole; looke in that place which I now cited, how manie kinds of curses there be reckned, which neuer touched our Saviour; besides the graunde curse which closeth by all, and continueth for ever; Depart from me ye **C V R S E D** into euerlasting fire. If you saie a parte; then proue you nothing with your hot and sharpe spurres as you thinke, when you saie; *what curse could it be? not the curse of the law? or what else? not the curse of God?* Christ suffered a parte of that curse, which God by his owne mouth laid on Adam and all his posteritie for sinne. ¶ By one man sinne entred into the worlde (saith Paul) and by sinne death. hee also suffered other partes of the curse, which **G D D** by his lawe threatned vnto sinners, to wit ^u shame and TROUBLE, ^x VVRONG and VIOLENCE, ^y CAPTIVITY and MISERY, ^y THIRST and NAKEDNES, ^z GRIEFE and PAYNE of bodie and minde. Besides, the verie kinde of death, to which

¹Deutero.28

¹Matth.25

¹Rom.5.

¹Deut.28
^uverse 20.37.

^x 33.

^y 48.

^z 65.

^aGalat. 3

which he submitted himselfe was accursed by speciall words in the law, ^a accursed is every one that hangeth on the Tree. Now to verifie the words of S. Paul, that Christ redeemed vs from the curse of the law due to our sinnes, being made a curse for vs; it sufficeth that the sonne of God, being equal with his Father in glorie and maiestie, vouchsafed to vndergoe not all the partes of our curse, but some partes thereof. Gods euermourning curse which is most due to sinne, I hope you will free him from. Gods spirituall curse, by which he deprieth the wicked of his truth, of his grace and other giftes of his spirit, you must likewise cleare the sonne of GOD from. Hee cannot be subiect to that parte of Gods curse without apparant impietie. Take from him truth, you make him a lyar; take from him grace you charge him with a reprobate minde; take from him the Spirit of GOD, you giue place to Satan to worke in him as in the children of vnbeliefe. I trust (Sir Refuter) you bee neither so wicked as to thinke, neither so desperate as to defend, that the sonne of God might suffer any of these curses. Then haue you boldelie, but falsely and lewdly con-

^bPage 40.

cluded out of S. Paul, that he putteth ^b a part of the iust curse of the lawe, thereby meaning the whole. Are you so well acquainted with Saint Pauls minde, that of your owne heade, to uphold your humorous fantasie, you will bge his meaning without his wordes, to support a manifest falsitie? The whole curse of the law containeth insatiation of minde, obduration of heart, desperation; damnation; and what not? Did Paul meane, that Christ was made these thinges for vs? or could hee haue redeemed vs, if in these thinges he had beene yoked with vs? But that I thinke (Sir Refuter,) you sinne of ignorance, not meaning to maintaine these blasphemies, and yet including them within the largenesse of your wordes, through the weaknesse of your wit, I must by the duty which I owe to God, and his truth, haue giuen you other termes, then now I do; but I had rather fatherly warne you to take heed

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haede of these toies in time, least they bying the whole curse of God vpon your owne soule, which you would so faine sa-
 den on Christs.

Notwithstanding your follie thus to presume without all
 prooue vpon the Apostles meaning besides his wordes, you
 haue a good conceit of your self, & like a proper man you say,
I urge then, let it be noted, Christ is said to be made a curse for vs; „^c Pag 37.
and before I shewed this curse was Gods curse And againe.^d The „
Scripture it selfe affirmeth, hee did all that for vs: therefore who „^d Pag. 36.
dareth denie it? Who either man or Angel shall presume to say „
nay? You haue byged it, I haue noted it, and so haue ma-
 nie wise and good men more; and will you heare what I
 conceiue? Trulie this; you haue more neede of Physicke
 to cure your byaines, then of labour to rebate your argu-
 ments. So many, and those speciall reasons, so pouldie propo-
 sed, so weaklie performed, so falselie concluded, did I neuer
 reade as long as I haue liued. Thou wilt thinke per chance
 (christian Reader) I speake this to disgrace the encounterer,
 and so to preiudice his cause with thee; mine heart God
 knoweth; but if thou bee not of the same minde with mee be-
 fore I ende with his speciall reasons, as hee calleth them, I
 much deceiue my selfe; spectallie if thou thy selfe bee intelli-
 gent and indifferent.

I hope, though I vaunt not, as he doth, there can bee no
 doubt, but the curse of God for sinne containeth these partes
 which I propose; to wit, the externall, corporall, spirituall, & eter-
 nall plagues and punishments, wherewith God pursueth the
 wicked that rebell against him. I count it as cleare, that nei-
 ther the eternall, nor the true spirituall curse of God cou'd take
 hold on the soule of our Saviour. For as the greatest ble-
 ssings that God giueth vs in this life, after he hath by mercie
 pardoned our sinnes, are the faith of his truth, to direct vs, the
 strength of his grace, to assist vs, the earnest of his spirite
 to perswade our hearts of his fatherlie clemencie to vs,
 and to inflame vs againe with the loue of his name, hope

of his promises, and desire of his kingdome; so the greatest curse for sinne, that in this life may befall men, is to haue his holie spiritte taken from them, with all his graces and gifts, that anie waie tende to saluation, and to be giuen ouer into a reprobate sense, that with blindness and hardness of heart, they may runne headlong to their owne destruction. With these impieties and blasphemies, I trust no Christian will burthen the soule of our Saviour; and yet these are the true spirituall curses of God against sinne. If then the soule of Christ were alwayes full of grace and truth, and the abundance of his spiritte such, that wee all receiue of his fulnesse; If in the perfection of his holinesse, innocencie and obedience there could be no defect; nor any feare or doubt in that stedfast assurance of faith, hope and loue, which our Saviour alwayes retained; howe could hee bee ing so fullie and perpetuallie blessed of God, bee also trulie accursed of him? The curse of God is not in wordes, but in deedes. Then euidentlie saint Pauls meaning is and must be, that Christ, voluntarilie vnder taking some part of the curse due to our sinnes, (for the whole hee could not vnder take without reprobation and damnation;) not onlie discharged vs of the whole, but gaue vs the blessing of God promised to Abraham. And to this ende I brought the testimonies of saint Austen, Chrysostome, and others, fullie confirming that I said: to which you replie, as your custome is; *It is vaine and senselesse to thinke that the Apostle here speaketh of two severall kinds of curses.* Indeepe it is vaine and fruitlesse to reason with him, that preferreth his ignorant imagination, before the iudgements of all the learned, and auncient fathers in Christs church; but Sir, your follies will sticke fast by you, when their expositions shall passe with all wise men for currant and good.

You quarrell as your manner is, with those parts of the
curse, which I say Christ indured. For where I proposed a
SHAMEFUL, VYRONGFUL & PAINFUL death to be that
part

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part of the curse, which Christ suffered for vs; you skirre at
 euerie one of these; And of the first you say: ⁸ Will any man of ¹ Pag. 38
 common reason affirme that (to be openly hanged on a tree) was
 all the curse that Christ bore for vs? Nothing but the shame of
 the world, because it was an ignominious death? Whether you,
 account saint Austen, and saint Chrysostome, men of com-
 mon reason I know not; The Church this 1200. yeeres hath
 taken them for reuerend and learned fathers. You adde, It
 is more then absurd so to say. Iudge thou (Christian reader),
 whether this Water be well in his wits, that in his frenzie
 thus reproveth, not onelie the fathers of Christs church,
 but euen the Prophets and Apostles themselves, as men
 more then absurd, and not of common reason. Moses from
 Gods mouth threatneth such as transgresse the lawe, that
 God will send them trouble and shame, and will make them
 a wonder, a prouerbe, and a common talke among all people.
 Esay foreshewing Christs sufferings, reckoneth this not for
 one of the least: ¹ He was despised, reiected & numbred among
 sinners; we did iudge him plagued and smitten of God, and tur-
 ned our faces from him. Dauid in the person of Christ, com-
 plaining of the wrongs receiued at the time of his passion;
 putteth this as the first and the chiefest, ¹ I am (as) a worme
 and not a man; a shame of men, and the contempt of the peo-
 ple. All they that see mee haue mee in derision; they make a
 mowe, and nod the heade, saying, he trusted in God, let him
 deliuer him, let him saue him. They gape vpon mee with their
 mouthes. Saint Paule himselfe bygeth as much the shame,
 as the paine of the crosse; ^m Look to Iesus the authour and
 finisher of your faith, who for the ioy set before him endured
 the crosse and despised the shame. He endured such contra-
 diction of sinners least you should faint in your mindes. How of-
 ten doth God threaten shame and confusion of face to those
 that fall from him? How earnestly doth Dauid euery where
 pray against it? How truly doth Daniel make this confes-
 sion to god: ² O Lord to vs belongeth OPEN SHAME because

¹ Deut. 28.
 vers 20.
¹ & ver. 37.
¹ Esay. 53.

¹ Psal. 22.

² Heb. 12.

² Daniel. 2.

we haue sinned against thee; the CURSE is powred vpon vs written in the law of *Moses*; because of our sinnes, Ierusalem and thy people are a REPROCH to all about vs. If the scriptures were not cleare, that shame and reproch is a chiefe part of Gods curse against sinne, howe many wise men and good men chose death before shame: What generous nature doth not more decline flandering then wounding? In common reason to which you appeale, howe can it bee lesse wrong or griefe, to whippe the soule with reproches, then the bodie with scourges? Verily our Saviour who best knoweth the waight of both, giueth like reward to both: ° Blessed are you when men reuile you, and speake all maner of euill against you for my sake, falselie; reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen,

° Matt. 5.

1 Pag. 43.

2 Pag. 44.

Vide pag. 92

As you shuffle with the shame, which our Saviour suffered on the Crosse, so you doe with his death; affirming that
 “ Death may in no sort heere be called a curse, because death
 “ to the godlie is no curse properlie, nor punishment of sinne,
 “ but a benefite and aduantage. You are too yong a Doctor to controule Saint Austen, whose wordes I haue alledged in the Treatise at large. His resolution is, that when Paule saith, Christ was made a curse for vs, he meant Christ died for vs. *Idem est mortuus quod maledictus, quoniam mors ipsa ex maledicto est.* It is all one to saie, Christ died for vs, and hee was accursed for vs; because death came from the curse. This you denie; for that the godlie after death goe to heauen, which is rather a benefite then a curse to them. God Sir, it is no benefite of death it selfe, but Christs blessing after death, that departing this life, we goe to heauen. Did you incourage men to die, since of force for sinne dwelling in their bodies they must die; it were well said, that death is rest from their labours, and an entrance into blisse, for so Christ hath provided for his, when they goe hence: but if you will reason what death is in it selfe, you must resolue it to be a part of Gods curse inflicted on Adam

Adam for sinne, and from him naturallie deriued to all his posterity; from which though our soules be exempted, and our bodie shall be restored, yet it remaineth to this day a part of Adams punishment, which can not bee auoided, though it must not bee feared, because Christ hath overthrowne the force and feare therof with his death. By one man (saith Paul meaning Adam) sinne entred into the world, and by sin death. ^{2 Rom. 5.} I hope it entered not as a blessing; God doth not vse to blesse sinne: but it entered as a part of the wages of sinne, or curse for sinne, and so it doth and shall continue, to the ende. The last enemy that shall be destroyed (saith Paul) is death; when this mortall hath put on immortalie, then is death swallowed vp in victorie; till then the sting of death is sinne. If the death of the bodie be an enemy and must be destroyed by Christs second coming, then is it no blessing; for those shall increase, when he appeareth in glorie. If Christ be in you (saith Paul) the spirit is life for righteousness sake, the bodie is dead because of sinne. If sinne bee the cause of death yet seazing on our bodie, it can bee no blessing, that riseth from so badde a cause; nei ther could the resurrection of our bodie, which Christ hath promised, and we expect at the last day, bee so great a joy as it is; if the corruption of our bodie in the meane time were a blessing. Gods blessings be not contrarie one to the other. S. Austen learnedlie resolueth this question in this sort. ¹ *Boni bene moriuntur, quamuis mors sit malum.* The godlie die well, though death be euill. ² *Mors hominis ex pœna peccati est, quia ex peccato factum est ut moriatur.* The death of mans body cometh from the punishment of sinne, because sinne brought it to passe, that man dieth. This conclusion in exact wordes Prosper collecteth out of saint Austen. ³ *Mors etiam piorum pœna peccati est.* The corporall death euen of the godlie is the punishment of sinne. This collection to bee true, S. Austen himselfe confirmeth. ⁴ *Si uero quem monet, cur uel ipsam patiantur, si & ipsa pœna peccati est, quorum per gratiam reatus aboletur: nam ista questio in alio nostro opere, quod inscripsimus de Baptismo*

² Rom. 5.

¹ 1. Cor. 15.

² Rom. 8.

² August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 13. cap. 5. August. contra Faustum. lib.

14. cap. 3.

³ Prosper in sentent. ex August. 148.

⁴ August. de ciuitate dei lib. 13. cap. 4.

istiusmodi parvulorum tractata ac soluta est. If it moue any man, why they, whose sinne is abolished by grace, doe yet suffer the death of the bodie, if that death bee a punishment of sinne, that Question I haue handled and resolved in another worke of mine, intituled of the baptisme of infants. The effect of his resolution here is this. **Per ineffabilem dei misericordiam & ipsa pœna vitiorum transit in arma virtutis, & fit meritum iusti, etiam supplicium peccatoris, NON QVIA MORS BONVM ALIQUOD FACTA EST, QVÆ ANTEA MALVM FVIT, sed tantam deus fidei præsstitit gratiam, ut mors instrumentum fieret, per quod transiretur in vitam.* By the vnspokeable mercie of God, the verie wages of vice becommeth an instrument of vertue, and the punishment of a sinner is made the merite of the righteous: not that death, VVHICH BEFORE VVAS EVILL, IS NOV BECOME ANIE GOOD THING, but God hath shewed so great fauour to our faith, that death is the waie or meane by which wee shall passe to life. And so concludeth, that

¹Ibidem.

¹Ibidem cap. 5. *¶ Pie fideliterque tolerando auget meritum patientia, non auferit vocabulum pœna;* By induring (the death of the bodie) religiouslie and faithfullie the merite of patience is increased, but the name of the punishment is not altered. And if death were nowe no part of the punishment of our sinnes, but a gaine to the godlie as you woulde haue it, by what meanes I praye you came it so to bee? Not by the resurrection of Christ conquering death, and changing the nature of it? When till Christ was risen, death was a punishment to the faithfull themselves; and consequentlie when Christ died for our sinnes, hee tooke vpon him a part of our curse, which after he turned, as you saie, into a blessing. *¶ Pri-*

²Chrysost. in gen. Homil. 29.

mus parens propter transgressionem mortis pœnam intulit, verum superueniens Christus hac omnia abstulit. Neque enim mors, ultra mors est, sed nomen tantum habet mortis. Our first parent by his transgression brought in the punishment of death: But Christ comming after tooke all away. For death is no longer death, but hath onelie the name of death, *¶ Ipsam mor-*

³August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 10. cap. 24.

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tem, quamuis esset poena peccati, pro nobis tamen sine peccato Christus persoluit. Death it selfe, (saith Austen) though it were the punishment of sinne, yet Christ that was without sinne vnder-tooke it for our sakes. And so for anie thing you haue yet said, or shall euer be able to say, Saint Austens assertion, which I cited befoze, standeth good; that because the death of the bodie was a part of the curse insisted vpon Adams sinne, Christ vndertaking that part of the curse for vs, that is, dying in his bodie, loosed vs from the whole curse of the lawe.

Against Chrysostomes iudgement, that not onelie death, but the very kind of death which Christ died, was accursed by the very words of the lawe; saying, accursed is hee that hangeth on a tree; you replie: ^b *Not euerie one that is hanged is cur-;* ^b Pag. 38. *sed: for manie innocents and martyrs are hanged, who are most blessed; but euerie one that is iustlie hanged is accursed, and so, was Christ here condemned by the iust sentence of the lawe to,* ^c Pag. 39. *paie his debts, for whome hee had willinglie and aduisedlie vnder-taken. And so indeede he bare the true curse of the lawe.* Chrysostoms iudgement is as I reported it. ^d *Crux signum erat*

mortis maledicta, mortis omnium diffamatiissima. Hoc enim solus mortis genus maledictioni erat obnoxium. The crosse was a signe of a cursed death, of a death most infamous. This onelie kinde of death was subiect to the curse. And againe, ^e *Non quauis mors isti similis est, ista namq; omnium videtur esse probrosissima, ista plena dedecore, ista maledicta. Propterea Iudaei satagebant eum ista morte interimere, ut si nemo abstinere ab eo quod esset occisus, abstinere tamen vel ideo, quod hoc pacto esset occisus.* Not euerie death was like to this. This seemed most reprochfull, most shamefull and accursed. Therefore the Iewes laboured to put him to this kind of death, that if no man would refuse him because he was killed, at least yet they should forsake him, for that he died this vild kinde of death. The kinde of death which christ submitted himself vnto was a shameful, & a cursed kind of death; as for the cause of christs death, Chrysostom was far from

^d Chrysost. in demonstrat. quod Christus sit deus. tom. 5. ^e Idem in epist. ad philip. ser. 7.

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from thinking Christ was iustlie hanged; he saith Christ thus honoured his father, ^f *Non coactus, nec inuitus, sed & hoc ex sua ipsius virtute*; not constrained, nor vnwilling, but of his own virtue or humilitie. And the Apostle warranteth Chrysostoms speech, for he saith: s Christ humbled himselfe, and was obedient to the death, euen to the death of the crosse. But what warranteth your speech that ^h *Christ was hanged on the tree by the iust sentence of the lawe*? I had thought he had suffered the iust for the vniust; and hauing no sinne had beene willinglie, and by no sentence of the law, hanged on a tree. ^k *Is it wrong (you aske) for the law to lay the penaltie on the suretie, when the debtor cannot discharge it?* But if it be meere and true iustice, and no wrong, then was Christ by the iust sentence of the lawe hanged on the tree, and so he bare indeed the true curse of the law. ^l For though ^m *God alwayes loued and imbraced Christ in regard of his owne innocent person, yet in another regard of our person, which he sustained, we may say God HATED him, God CURSED him.* ⁿ *Yea he tooke our person on him, and so became by our sins, SINFVLL, DEFILED, HATEFVLL, & ACCVRSED.* Is this the holines of your cause you haue in hand, Sir refuter, with a simple similitude against the scriptures, against the faith, against the fathers, against the consciences of gods people, openly to pronounce the eternall and everlasting sonne of God SINFVLL, DEFILED, HATEFVLL, & accursed of his father, for that he took vpon him the punishment of our sinnes? Your similitude had need be sound, that shall beare the waight of these wordes; if you faile, can you tell howe deeply you come within the iust sentence of gods law, for opening your irreligious mouth against God, and his sonne? but the reof anon.

In the meane while, because with scornning Chrysostom, you make way to your vnholp conceit, that Christ being truly accursed in soule for the guilt of mans sinne ^a *was iustlie hanged by the sentence of the lawe, and say it is VAIN and SENCELESSE to thinke the Apostle speaketh there of two kinds of curses (as Chrysostom affirmeth) but rather that hanging on a tree*

^f Ibidem.

^g Phil. 2.

^h Pag. 39.

ⁱ 1. Pet. 3.

^k Pag. 39

^l Pag. 42.

^m Ibidem.

^a Pag. 35.

^b Pag. 40.

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is set downe as a part for the whole execution of Gods iust curse, „
 and argueth the whole to be on Christ, let vs see whether you, „
 or Chrysostom, bee deceived. ¶ As many as are of the workes
 of Gods lawe, are vnder the curse, (saith Paul;) for it is written, ^{Galat. 3}
 Cursed is euery man that continueth not in all things which are
 written in the booke of the lawe, to do them. We shall agree
 I hope that this is Gods curse, both temporall and eternall,
 laid on the bodies and soules of sinners, for transgressing a-
 ny part of Gods commandementes, proposed in his lawe;
 and to this all that haue sinned are subiected, because it is the
 GENERALL curse, EXECVTE by God himself vpon ALL
 sinne committed, either in deede, word, or thought. ¶ From
 this curse (saith Paul) Christ hath redeemed vs, beeing made a ^{Galat. 3}
 curse for vs, as it is written, Cursed is euerie one, that hangeth
 on a tree. If this be all one with the other, then euerie man
 that transgressed Gods law in thought, word, or deede, was
 by the sentence of the lawe to bee hanged on a tree. Shewe
 that sentence in the lawe, and Chrysostom shall peeke vnto
 you; if you cannot, then hanging on a tree is no necessarie part
 of the generall curse of God vpon all sinners, and conse-
 quentlie being no part of it, it is not all one with it, neither
 can it argue the whole to haue been in Christ. [*How standeth „*
the Apostles reason then that Christ was made a curse?] Where in „
 sinne there are two thinges, the committing of it, and the
 reuenging of it by God or man in this life or the next; and
 magistrates had vnder Moyses, as they haue vnder Christ,
 power giuen them from aboue, as Gods ministers to take ^{Rom. 13.}
 vengeance (in this life) on him that doth euill; the Apostle
 knowing that Christ, though he committed no sinne, was yet
 content to beare the punishment due to sinne in his bodie on
 the tree; and by his smart to abolish our fault; citeth a place
 out of Moyses, where the Iudiciall and corporall punishment
 of a man by death is not onelie called a curse, but counted a
 satisfaction for sinne, which being suffered the law had ended
 his forme vpon the sufferer. And so concludeth that Christ
 receauing

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receiving a Iudiciall, and corporall punishment of death for our sinne, not onlie therein suffered the curse, but satisfied the force of the lawe, & by that curse of his suffering redeemed vs from the curse of our transgressing. The place cited out of Moses is this; *if a man haue committed an offence worthy of death, and is (by the lawe) to die, and thou hang him on a tree: his body shall not remaine all night on the tree, but thou shalt bury him the same day; for the curse of God is (alreadie laid or executed) on him that is hanged.* This most apparantly was a publike punishment executed by the magistrate vpon the body of the offender; and because by his open and shamefull death, which Moses rightlie calleth the curse of God, hee had satisfied the sentence of the Iudiciall lawe, God commandeth no farther reproch to be offered his bodie, in suffering it to hang in all mens eyes any longer, but to bee buried the same daie; for that by his death the curse of God ceased. The difference betwene these two curses is soone perceiued. Euerie sinne receaued the first curse, whereof Paul spake before; seuerall crimes receaued the iudgement of this seconde kinde of curse which was to bee hanged. The first was inflicted by God himselfe: the second was executed by the magistrate. The first touched bodie and soule, in this life and the next; the second ended with the death of the bodie. The first was committing of sinne, the seconde was suffering for sinne. And therefore Chrysostomes exposition is verie true, when hee saith; *The people were obnoxious to another curse, which was this; Cursed is euerie one, that continueth not in that which is written in the booke of the lawe, for there was not one of them that had fulfilled the whole Lawe; but Christ in steede of that, tooke vpon him another curse, which said, cursed is every one that hangeth on the tree. He that should take away the first curse, must not bee subiect to the same, but vndertake another in place thereof, and by that dissolue the first. As if one being adiudged to die (for some crime) another, no way guilty of the same, but willing to die for him, should deliuer him from the punishment*

[Deuter. 21]

[Chrysost. in
ca. 3. ad Galat.

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punishment: So did Christ; not being subiect to the curse of transgression, in steede thereof he tooke an other curse, and dissolued the curse that laie on them.

[Before a man can be accursed by his death, hee must, you saie, be iustly hanged; for manie *Innocents and martyrs are hanged who are most blessed.*] Innocentes and martyrs, bee their soules neuer so blessed, maie beare in their bodies a shamefull death, as Christ did in his; and that is a kinde of corporall curse, though by men vniustly inflicted, euen as death in the godlie is a remnant of Gods curse by on sinne, though their soules bee blessed before and after death. Pea the worde *KALAL* whence the Hebrewes deriue that which with them signifieth a curse, noteth also to make vilde and contemptible, as if shame, reproch, and contempt were the greatest outwarde curse, that coulde befall anie man in this life. The cause why wee suffer it, shall make it iust or vniust; but wee must call things by those names, which *GOD* first allotted them. Nowe death, shame, wrong, reproch, and such like, God ordainned at first to bee punishments of sinne, and so partes of the curse due to sinne. If wee suffer at mens handes for piety, that which God appointed to be the wages of iniquity, so wee bee patient and willing to abide the triall, which is righteous with God, though iniurious from men, the name is not altered, but the reward increased. Pea God it is, that causeth iudgement to beginne at his own house oftentimes, by the handes of persecutors; hee doth vs right, when men doe vs wrong; and dealeth not with vs according to our sinnes in the greatest wrongs that can be done vs. Therefore martyrs and innocents may do well to remember, that God hath cause enough, though man haue none; and so submit themselves as worthe of worse from Gods handes. But none of these things may be saide of our Saviour, who alone among all the chilozen of men wanted sinne, and suffered wrong; and therefore his punishments with God were

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iust, not by his deseruing, but by his desiring to suffer for man. How then cometh it to passe, that martyrs, which are sinners before God, are vnjustly hanged, because they deserue no such thing at mens handes; and Christ who was most innocent before men, and most righteous before God, you will needs haue to be iustly hanged:

“ [The suerty (you say) by his suertiship is a debtor to the creditor and to the law; and so Christ, though most innocent in himself, yet was hee iustly hanged, as our suretie, by the iust sentence of the law.] You mistake, Sir Confuter, as well the sentence of the lawe, as the suertiship of Christ. For though mans lawe permit, which is the rule of charitie, that men should beare each others burdens, and undertake one for another in money matters, and such like things which God leaueth in each mans will and power; yet tell me I praye, what lawe, Gods or mans, permitteth a murderer or like offender to be spared, and another, that is willing, to be hanged in his steede? I thinke mans law will allow you no such suertiship, I am sure Gods lawe will not. “ As I liue, saith the Lord, the soule that sinneth, that soule shall die. The wickednes of the wicked shall bee vpon himselfe. Hee shall haue then no suerties to die for him, much lesse shall his suertie be compelled to die by the sentence of the law. Their monie men may giue awaie; but their liues they may not, till God call for them; and if not their liues, much lesse their soules by anie sentence of the law. The sonne of God did not by LAW, but by LOVE interpose himselfe to beare our sinnes; * So God loued the worlde, that hee gaue his onely begotten sonne, that whosoeuer beleeueth in him should not perish, but haue euerslasting life. Yea y the sonne of God loued vs, and gaue himselfe for vs, not by anie obligation to the lawe, for hee was aboue the lawe, and could not be bound by the lawe; and we were condemned by the sentence of the law, and not put to finde suerties. The eternall wisdom and counsell of God then out of his inestimable loue towards vs, without the lawe, and

“ Ezech, 18

“ John 3.

“ Galat. 3

and before the law decreed, as to create vs, so to redeeme vs, by Christ his sonne. And the sonne not as debtour to anie, nor for anie, but of his good will and fauour toward vs, offered himselfe to suffer for vs whatsoener the iustice of his father would impose. Wherein he became not a Suertie bound to the law; but a Mediatour to God, and a Redeemer of man. Suerties that stand bounde and must paie the debt, may not looke to be Mediators; and he that redeemeth a prisoner from the enemy is not bound, but content so to doe. And that the death of Christ should be paie as a debt to the lawe whereto Christ was bounde, is to mee a strange position. I take Christs sufferings all this while for a voluntarie oblation to God, and not for a due obligation to the lawe, and himselfe to be a mediatour, not a debtour; his death I reckned to bee a richer offer, then man coulde owe, and a greater price then the lawe could exact. And therefore the newe testament of mercie, grace, and glorie was made by his blood, which are other manner of purchases, then the due paiement of mans debt. Howe coulde that bee due vnto the lawe, which ouerthrew the lawe? Sinners, such as we are, were to die by the lawe; but that the sonne of God should die for vs, what lawe did or coulde requite that at his handes? you shall doe well therefore to leaue these dangerous discourses, and learne to saie with the scripture and fathers, that loue, not lawe; desire, not debt; mercy, not necessity brought the sonne of God from his throne in heauen, to his crosse on earth.

[Such was the sentence of the lawe, you will saie, that without death he could not redeeme vs.] Paie such was his lone, you should saie, that euen with his death hee would redeeme vs. ² *Cum posset nobis etiam non moriendo succurrere, subuenire tamen moriendo hominibus voluit: quia nos videlicet minus amasset nisi & vulnera nostra susciperet, nec vim sua dilectionis nobis ostenderet, nisi hoc quod a nobis tolleretur, ad tempus ipse sustineret. Passibiles quippe mortalesque nos reperit, & qui nos existere fecit ex nihilo, reuocare etiam sine sua morte potuit*

² Greg. moral. lib. 20. cap. 26

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à passionē. Sed ut quanta esset virtus Compassionis ostenderet, fieri pro nobis dignatus est, quod esse nos voluit, ut in semetipso temporaliter mortem suscipere, quam à nobis in perpetuum fugaret. Christ when he might haue succoured vs without dying, woulde rather helpe man by dying (saith Gregorie :) because he had loued vs lesse, if he had not taken to himselfe our woundes, neither had hee shewed vs the strength of his loue, vnlesse hee had for a tyme sustayned that, from which he deliuered vs. Hee founde vs miserable and mortall; yet hee that made vs of nothing might haue recalled vs from our miserie without his owne death. But that hee might declare howe greate the vertue of Compassion is, hee vouchsafed to be that, which hee appointed vs to be, that receauing a temporall death in himselfe, hee might chase it from vs for euer. ^a Those (saith Austen) that aske, did GOD so want meanes to deliuer men from the miserie of this mortalitie, that hee woulde haue his onelie begotten sonne to be made a mortall man, and to suffer death; It is not enough so to refute that wee shewe this waie to be good and agreeable to the diuine excellencie, whereby God vouchsafed to deliuer vs by the Mediatour of God and man Christ Iesus; *verum etiam ut ostendamus NON ALIUM MODUM POSSIBILEM DEO DEVISSE, cuius potestati cuncta equaliter subiacent, sed sananda nostra miseria conuenientiorē alium modum non fuisse, necesse oportuisse;* but also that wee shewe God WANTED NOT OTHER MEANES, to whose power all thinges are subiect, but that neither there was, nor coulde bee a more conuenient way to heale our misery. For what was so needefull to raise vp our hope, and to free mens mindes from despairing immortalitie, being alreadye deiected by the condition of their mortalitie, as to make euident shewe vnto vs, how much God esteemed vs, and how much hee loued vs? whereof what plainer or perfiter prooffe could be made, then that the sonne of God, remaining that he was, would take from vs & for vs that which he was not, and vouchsafe to be amongst

vs:

^a August. de
Trinitate lib.
13. cap. 10

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vs : and first without anie deserte of his to beare our miseries , and vpon vs, then beleeuing how greatly God loued vs, and hoping where afore wee despaired, to bestowe without all merit of ours, yea when wee deserued euill at his handes, the giftes of his grace, with bounty no way prouoked by vs. And so Ambrose.

^b By one mans death the world was redeemed. Christ might, if ^{b Ambrosio de} hee woulde, haue refrained from death ; but hee neither refused ^{side resurrect.} death as vnprofitable, neither could he haue saued vs any better waie then by dying. So that no legall necessitie, much lesse Iudiciall seueritie , brought Christ to his Crosse, but to teach vs obedience to God by his example, to demonstrate his loue to vs by refusing nothing for our sakes, and to declare his owne power, whose weakenesse was stronger then all his and our enemies , and to strengthen our patience, and giue vs comfort in all the troubles of this life , he chose the paynfull and shamefull death of the Crosse, and there shewed so perfitte a patterne of obedience , innocence , patience , that the Angels themselves did admire it.

So farre you make Christ suertie for vs that in taking
^c our person on him, hee became by our sinne sinnefull ; defiled ,
hatefull and accursed. Similitudes, if you sucke nothing from
them but that which is agreeable to ^h truth, in teaching may
be tolerated; in concluding they wil halt. That Christ is ^d a su-
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law to pay our debtes, but ^d of a better testament, euen of the
new couenant of grace established in his blood, wherof he is
also the mediator & priest. Now he died for vs, not as a suerty
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and

^e Pag. 42.

^f Hebre. 7

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^b Ambros. de fide resurrect.

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^c Pag. 42.

^d Hebre. 7

and make him hatefull to God by our curse. No similitudes
 " can proue Christ in taking our person on him to be SINNE-
 " FULL, DEFILED, HATEFUL, and ACCURSED; and there-
 fore your uncleane mouth, and uncleaner heart, that thus
 speake, and thinke of the sonne of God, are worther of ca-
 stigat[i]on, then of refutation. I know you will pretend the
 Apostles wordes, " God made him sinne for vs that knewe no
 sinne; but howsoever some late writers turne sinne into
 sinner, and thence giue cause of these and the like speeches,
 the church of God from the beginning hath warilie declined
 such irreuerent wordes, and yet plainelie confesse the truth.
 That God MADE HIM SINNE, hath two good and approu-
 ued senses; one that he made him a sacrifice for sinne, and so
 the clesner of sinne, and no waie defiled by our sinne: the o-
 ther, that he punished our sinnes in him, and vled him as bee
 doth sinners. ^f They that know (saith Austen) the scriptures of
 the olde testament, acknowledge this that I saie. Not once, but
 often and verie often it is found; Sacrifices for sinnes, are called
 sinnes. Then him that knewe no sinne God made sinne for vs,
 that is a sacrifice for sinne. Christ was made sinne in that he was
 offered to abolish sinne. And againe, *peccatum vocabatur*
in lege sacrificium pro peccato, assidue lex hoc commemorat, non
semel, non iterum, sed sapissime. Tale peccatum erat Christus.
Peccatum non habebat, & peccatum erat; peccatum erat, quia
sacrificium pro peccato. The sacrifice for sinne is in the law cal-
 led sinne. The lawe still so vseth the word, not once, nor twice,
 but verie often. Such a sinne was Christ, he had no sinne, and
 yet he was sinne. He was sinne, because he was the sacrifice for
 sinne. So Ambrose. ^h Because Christ was offered for sinne,
 worthilie is he said to be made sinne, because in the lawe the sa-
 crifice that is offered for sinne is called sinne. This waie if you
 consider S. Pauls wordes, they conclude directlie against your
 irreligions supposition. For if Christ when hee tooke vs into
 his bodie, did clesne our sinnes by the offering of himselfe;
 hee became not defiled by our sinnes. Hee did not clesne vs
 that

^e 2. Cor. 5

^f Aug. de ver-
 bis do. secund.
 Iohan. serm. 48

^g Idem de ver-
 bis Apostoli.
 serm. 7.

^h Ambrosius in 2.
 Corinth. ca. 5

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that was defiled by vs. Whosoener you take those wordes;

ⁱ Such an high priest it became vs to haue (saith the Apostle) as ¹ Heb. 7.
was holy, harmlesse, V N D E F I L E D, S E P A R A T E from sinners.

If the Priest were defiled, the sacrifice could not be accepted.

If Christ were separate from sinners, then was hee not polluted by sinners. He took our sinnes vnto him, not to drawe

anie pollution from them, but to make h purgation of them.

He that could cleane vs from our sinnes, howe much more

could hee keepe himselfe from beeing defiled with our

sinnes? If we follow the other sense of S. Pauls wordes, that

Christ was made sinne for vs, that is the punishment of

our sinne, wee must take heede that wee bring him not with

in the guiltinesse of our sinnes, as we doe within the punish

ment of our sinnes. ^k *Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium*

nostrum, ut inde solueret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam sup-

plicium nostrum. Christ vnderooke (saith Austen) our pu

nishment without our guilt, that so hee might remit our guilt,

and ende our paine. ¹ Christ (saith Cyprian) endured by Mo

ses and his owne Apostle to bee called a curse, and sinne, *pro si-*

militudine peccata, non culpa, for the likenesse of the paine, not of

the fault. ^m *Dilexit (nos Christus) dulciter, sapienter, fortiter.*

Dulce nempe dixerim, quod carnem induit; cautum, quod culpam

cauit; forte, quod mortem sustinuit. Christ (saith Bernard) loued

vs sweetelie, wiselie, stronglie. Sweetelie in that he tooke our

flesh; wiselie, in that hee shunned our guiltinesse; strong'ie, in

that he suffered death for vs. If Christ took the paine, but not

the guilt of our sinnes, howe came hee to bee defiled by our

sinnes? It must needes be either in sojning and vning him

selfe vnto vs, or in answering and suffering for vs. Our v

nion with Christ doth sanctifie vs, it defileth not him. We

are as neere soyned to Christ nowe reigning in heauen,

as wee were to Christ suffering on the Crosse. As wee

died with him then in the bodie of his flesh, ⁿ so wee

sitt together with him in heauenlie thinges. But our vnt

on and communion nowe, though wee bee sinfull and

Do I

mortall,

¹ Heb. 7.

^k August. cont.
Faustum, lib. 14
cap. 4

¹ Cyprian de
passione Chri-
sti.

^m Bernard in
cantic. lerm. 20

ⁿ Ephes. 2.

Rom. 5.

mostall, both no waie defile him, no more did it then, when hee suffered for vs. If you saie our sinnes were imputed vnto him, when he was crucified for them; that increaseth the perfection of his loue, it argueth not anie pollution of his soule. To die for wicked men, did not touche him with anie taint of our sinnes, but °GOD (saith the Apostle) setteth out his loue towardes vs in this, that whiles wee were yet sinners Christ died for vs. The iust therefore did die for the vniust, and was no partner of our iniustice; hee that saued vs from our sinnes, did not defile himselfe with them. And where all this is grounded vppon a simple similitude, that a suertie by vndertaking for a debtour, maketh the debt his owne, though hee neuer borrowed the money; it is easilie and trulie answered, that Christ did not vndertake wee shoulde not sinne, nor that wee should paie the debt which wee did owe; but when wee had sinned, and were able no waie to aunswere the iustice of GOD, but by our euermolting destruction of bodie and soule; it pleased the sonne of God to interpose himselfe, and no waie bound to vs, nor for vs, to intreate his father that in his owne person hee might make recompence for our stinnes; and so as a Mediatour allowed of God, hee tooke our nature: and freelis, not indebted; willingly, not constrained; Hee gaue himselfe for vs a sacrifice of a sweete sauour vnto God. As if the whole people of anie lande rebelling against their King, and beeing subdued and readie to be destroyed, the Kinges sonne (loath to see his fathers kingdom thus dispeopled, and so manie wretched men, women, and children put to fire and sword) shoulde importune his father at his request to bee gracious vnto them, and to lase on him, though hee be his onelie sonne, what chastisement the father in his wisdome and iustice shall thinke fitte for the repressing of the like outrage hereafter: maie anie of those subiectes without extream ingratitude

Ephes. 5.

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titude, and intolerable contumelie reproch the Kings sonne, when hee suffereth for their sakes, that hee is guiltie of their treason, and both **DEFILED** with it, and **HATEFULL** for it? I will not applie, because it will presse you too farre; but as mine owne perswasion is, that no such sinfull and hatefull wordes haue, or should be vsed in the Church of God to the dishonour of his sonne; so my counsell to the sober and wise reader, is, to stop his eares, and shut his eyes against such defiled and accursed speeches.

You proceede to another prooffe, and where the Apostle saith, **Christ** spoiled Principalities & powers, and made a shew of them openlie, triumphing ouer them; vpon these words you inferre. *¶ These principalities are the diuels; therefore it is certaine Christ FELT THEM to bee the verie instruments that* ,,⁹ Pag 45.
VVROUGHT THE VERIE EFFECTS of Gods wrath VPON ,,
HIM. This is the first place where you specifie anie effect of ,,
Gods wrath against Christs soule (for you will haue the soule of **Christ** properlie and immediatelie to suffer the effectes of Gods wrath;) and that you proue learneplie and wiselie like your selfe. The diuels haue nothing to do with the soules of men, but either to tempt them to worke in them, or to torment them. To tempt is to trie how fast **h** saints stand in the feare and loue of God. And for that cause the wisdom of god hath from the beginning suffered all his saints, his owne sonne not excepted to be tempted of satan. For **Christ** coulde not be tempted by the corruption of his heart as we are, but by Satans voice, or by Satans members. As vs James saith ,,
¶ Euerie man is tempted, when he is entised and drawne away by his owne concupiscence. -James. 1
Concupiscence there was none in Christ. He had no law in his flesh rebelling against the lawe of his minde, as we haue; It is in vs the rage of originall sinne from which he was free, and therefore he coulde not bee tempted but by the eare, as he was in **h** desert by satan himselfe, & by Satans members al the time of his abode on earth. In the hearts of men when **h** diuel preuaileth with temptation

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¹Ephes. 2.

¹1. Pet. 2.

²1. Iohn 3.

there he worketh, leading such as consent and yeld unto him into all wickednesse, even with greedinesse: So he worketh in the children of disobedience, as the Apostle testifieth. This can haue no place in Christ, because he did no sinne, neither was there anie guile found in his mouth. He that committeth sinne (saith saint Iohn) is of the diuel, and for this purpose appeared the sonne of God, that hee might dissolue the workes of the diuell. Then since inward temptation by the hart Christ could haue none, and outward temptation by the mouthes & hands of the wicked is no effect of Gods wrath, but rather a triall of Gods gifts and graces bestowed on vs; It remaineth that if Christ felt the diuels as the very instruments that wrought the verie effects of Gods wrath upon him, that is vpon his soule, (for that part of Christ you say must properly and immediatly feele the wrath of God) it resteth I saie by your owne wordes y Christ FELT THE DIUELS TORMENTING HIS SOVLE. And indeede for so much as in executing the true paines of hell, and of the damned, God hath none other instruments but diuels, you cannot defend that Christ suffered the paines of hell, but you must graunt that Christ felt the diuels, as instruments executing those paines on his soule. For we the bodie of man they may torment with touching, as they did Iobs; the soule they can not, but by possessing it. For they can not worke but where they are, and therefore they must possesse the soule which they torment. Is not here (Christian Reader) an wholesome clearke, and an holie cause, that concludeth Christs soule was possessed and tormented of diuels on the Crosse? And the prooofe is as ridiculous, as the position is impious. Christ spoiled principalities and powers, and openlie triumphed ouer them, ergo (say you) hee felt them the instruments of Gods wrath, by tormenting his soule. If your learning and Logicke serue you so well, you may preiudge Iobs in dotage when you will. For my part (Christian Reader) I will giue none other answer to these lewd and wicked absurdities, but that which Iacob said to Simcon

²Philip 2.

mecon

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meon and Leui; y Into their secret my soule shall not come. **To** ^{Gen. 49.}
Strengthen thee, thou mailest remember, what Peter saide of
Christ. ² God anointed Iesus of Nazareth with the holy ghost, & ^{Acts. 10.}
with power to heale all that were oppressed of the diuell; for God
was with him; or else what **Christ** said of himselfe, ^{John. 14} The prince
of this world cometh, and hath naught in me; or at least what
the diuels themselues said to **Christ**; ^b Iesus the sonne of God ^{Matt. 8.}
WHAT HAVE VVE TO DO VVITH THEE? Art thou come
to torment vs before the time? **And so in the Gospell of saint**
Luke, the ^c soule spirit when he saw Iesus cried out, what haue I ^{Luke 8}
to doe with thee, Iesus the sonne of God most high? I beseech
thee torment me not.

[But perchance I mistake him.] would God there were
so much grace in him, as to reuoke it, or refuse it; I would
gladlie confesse mine errour in mistaking his wordes: but
what if he go on from bad to worse? What if he heapeth vp
reasons as he thinketh, but indeede trifles void of sense and
reason to confirme the same? ^c This reason will proue the ^{Page. 45}
same (saith hee) taken from the lesse to the more. ^d Thus do the ^{Page. 46.}
members of Christ suffer. Therefore of necessitie Christ our head
suffered the like. Yeato the Hebrues hee sheweth a reason which
can neuer be refuted by the witte of man. ^c Christ succoured vs
not, but wherein hee had experience of our temptations and infir- ^{Page. 47}
mities: but he succoureth vs euen in these our temptations of fee-
ling the terrors of God and the sorrowes of hell. Therefore hee
himselfe had experience of the same. ^e Adde hereunto that of ^{Page. 48. & 49}
all absurdities, this is the greatest, that meere men should suffer,
more deeply and bitterly then Christ did. You haue moze words
then witte (Sir Confuter) that propose these childish argu-
ments for inuincible reasons. Your selfe shall see the weak-
nes of them. ^g Whatsoener the members of Christ, say you, did or ^{Page. 46.}
shall suffer, of necessitie Christ our head suffered the like. Meane,
you in bodie? or in soule? or in both? If in bodie, then Christ
had his eyes put out, for so had Sampson; he was swallowed vp
by a whale, for so was Ionas; hee was cast into a burning
furnace,

furnace, for so were Sidrac, Misrac, and Abednego; he was stoned to death, for so were Naboth, Steuen, and others. You meane not in bodie; meane you then in soule? Inwarde assaults of error, lust and sinne Christ neuer had. He was free from all conflicts of heart, that rise in vs from the roote or remorse of sinne; that increase with weakenesse of faith, want of grace, and quenching of Gods spirite. The terrors of minde which wee feele through conscience of our vniuersity, ignorance of Gods counsell, and distrust of Gods fauour hee neuer felt: his faith admitted no doubting, his loue excluded all fearing, his hope reiected all despairing. So that howe you shoulde make a falser proposition, and more repugnant to the Apostles wordes which you alledge then this which you haue made, I by no meanes can conceiue. Hee was tempted in all thinges a like except sinne. Then neither the rootes, partes, nor fruites of sinne must bee in him. But the Apostle that excepteth sinne, excepteth all sinnesfull adherencies. The punishment of sinne which proceedeth from the iustice of GOD, and is no sinne, that Christ might and did beare; but in no wise those terrours and feares of conscience which proceede from sinne, and augment sinne, as doubting, distrusting, despairing, in which GOD reuengeth sinne with sinne; these muste bee farre from Christ, vntill wee will wrappe him within the snares of our sinnes. The feare of Gods Maiestie armed with mightie power to reuenge sinne, is profitable to keepe vs from sinne; therein Christ may communicate with vs, though not to that ende, for he could not sinne; but fearing, doubting, or distrusting that God wil for our manifold sinnes cast vs from his presence, and condemne vs to hell, commeth in vs from the guiltinesse of conscience and weakenesse of faith and hope, which in Christ neither had, nor could haue any place.

[But

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[But ⁱ the Apostle (you saie) sheweth a reason, which can neuer bee refuted by the witte of man. Christ succoured vs not, but wherein he had experience of our temptations.] Are those wordes in the Apostle? No (you will saie) but collected from the Apostles wordes, where hee saith ^k In that Christ suffered ¹ Heb. 2, being tempted he can helpe those that are tempted. Hence you conclude vpon your owne warrant, that Christ can succour vs in no temptation but whereof himselfe had first experience; and this you proclaime to be irrefutable. Such lips such lettice; such doctors such diuinitie. Your collection, Sir Refuter, is not onelie farre different from the Apostles wordes, but euidentlie repugnant to the christian faith and truth. The Apostle giueth not here the cause why Christ is able to helpe vs in our miseries and necessities, for he is able in that he is God to do what he will; but hee sheweth that our high Priest is ¹ faithfull and mercifull, that is willing and readie to heare ¹ Heb. 2, ver. 17 vs, and helpe vs in all our afflictions and troubles, for so much as in his owne person hee would feelee our temptations and infirmities, that he might be the better able to helpe vs in hauing more compassion on vs. And this is that the Apostle saith in the fourth chapter of this Epistle: ^m Wee haue not an high Priest, which can not bee touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all things (or thoroughlie) tempted alike except sinne. So that his sufferinges made him the more mercifull and faithfull; because he knoweth best as well our naturall infirmities, as our manifold miseries. ⁿ Heb. 4.

This for the sense of the Apostle, nowe to the truth of your collection. CHRIST SVCCOURETH VS NOT, but wherein he hath felt the same. Meane you Christ is not able or not willing? For you saie, hee succoureth vs not. To saie hee is not able, is blasphemie; because he is God, and God I hope can succour vs in all our miseries, without suffering those things which we doe. To say he will not (though the Apostles word bee *δυνατοι*, hee is able) is as false in it.

it selfe, and as insurions to Christ. For then Christ will neuer helpe ante man that is sicke, because hee neuer felt ante disease of bodie, nor ante whose bones are broken, because his were whole: nor ante Martyr that burneth in fire, because hee died on the crosse; the blinde, deafe, dumbe, lamie, and a thousand such like Christ will neuer heare, nor helpe, because he suffered not the same. [You speake of ghostlie temptations, you will saie, not of bodily afflictions.] Saint Paule speakeeth of both, and Christ had experience of both; and therefore if your collection be false and absurde in the one, it will neuer bee sound and assured in the other. But come to your owne pitch. Will Christ deliuer no man from blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, because hee neuer endured either? Will he not aide vs to repressse the lusts of our flesh, because he neuer was tempted with them? Will he not helpe our vnbeliefe, because his faith was alwayes strong? Will he not saue ante from desperation, because he neuer despaired? Will hee not cure frenzie, and furie, because hee was neuer out of his wittes? Pet, ther did hee, nor will hee cast out Diuels, because himselfe was not possessed? Is this the reason that cannot bee refuted by mans witte which euerie childe maye presentlie controlle? In deede you speake truer then you are ware of, if your deuise maye bee receiued. For you doe not sticke to defile Christ with our sinnes, to astonish and amaze all the partes and powers of his minde, to torment him with Diuels, and in the ende to adiudge him to the death of the soule, which hath in it blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, infidelitie, and what not? Yea it is with

• Pag. 48.

“ you: ” of all absurdities the greatest, that meeere men, although
 “ they bee reprobates, shoulde suffer more deeply then Christ did,

• Pag. 83]

“ ° For Gods iustice, saie you, shoulde bee as seuerer on Christ, as
 “ on anie reprobate, and yet they suffer reprobation, desperation,
 damnation.

From hence you go to another of your holie mysteries;
 and

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and as if you had not done the Lord of glorie wrong enough with these irreuerent and irreligious speeches, you take from him in his passion at your pleasure, not only his vertues & graces, but euen his sense, memorie & vnderstanding, & leaue him often times when you list your selues, ^p amazed, astonished, and forgetfull of himselfe for feare, yea so distempered, disturbed, distracted, ^q ouerwhelmed & ALL CONFOVNDED in his whole humanity, both in all the powers of his soule and senses of his body, that he knew not what he said or did. God grant, (Sir Refuter) you be wel in your wits, that deprive the Saniour of the world when you will, of all sense, memorie, & vnderstanding. [The euangelists, you will say, in expresse words affirme that Christ in the garden was ^r astonished & grievously perplexed.] Haue you the skill, when the scriptures saie, that Christ beganne to bee astonished and perplexed, to stretch y^e beginning to the highest degree of all astonishment that maie light on the Reprobate in this life, or the damned in the next? when the holie ghost toucheth a naturall infirmity common to Christ with all the godlie in the like cases, both your conscience serue you to make of that not onlie a general and total distemper, but an Infermall confusion of all the powers of his soule, and senses of his bodie? had you consulted S. Ierom, hee would haue taught you an other lesson. ^r Dominus ut veritatem probaret assumpti hominis, verè quidem contristatus est; sed ne passio in animo eius dominaretur per propassionem caput contristari. Aliud est enim contristari, aliud incipere contristari, &c. The Lorde to shew himselfe a true man, was sorrowfull in verie deede, not that any passion ouerswaied his minde, but he began to be touched with the affection of sorrow. It is one thing to be sorrowfull, and an other to begin to be sorrowfull; his sorrow was not for any feare to suffer, since he came of purpose to suffer, and reproveth Peter as too feareful, but for that most wretched Judas, and the weakenes of all his Apostles, and the reiection of the whole nation of the Iewes, and the miserable destruction of Ierusalem. And if heretickes doe interpret

^p Pag. 49.

^q Pag. 53.

^r Mark. 14.

^r Math. 26.

^r Ierom. in
Math. ca. 26

this sorrowe of heart, not for our Sauours affection towardes them that shoulde perish, but for a perturbation of minde, let them answere me, howe they expounde that which *Ezechiel* speaketh in the person of God, and in all these things thou didst make me sorrowfull. Saint *Ierome* saith, the wordes enforce no more, then that *Christ* began to bee sorrowfull and perplexed, and if anie man stretch them farther he giueth him the note of an hereticke; and though I re-fraine that worde because I hope you doe it of ignorance and not of malice, yet I cannot excuse you from a dangerous error, and that in foure speciall pointes. First you mistake the cause whence this feare arose; secondlie you extend it farther then in truth you shoulde; thirdlie you continue it longer then with anie warrant you may; and fourthlie by pretence thereof you chalenge *Christes* prayers in the garden not onelie with want of good memorie, but with flat repugnancie to the knowne will of God; which is euident sinne,

Vide pag. 17

* Pag. 80

* Pag. 81.

Concerning the first I am resolved, as in the treatise before I haue specified, that the cause of *Christes* agonie, could not proceed, but from his submission to the maiestie of God sitting in iudgement, or from his compassion on mans miserie, or from both. Now will haue it proceede from ^{the} intolerable horrors of Gods fiery wrath equall to hell; And where *Cain* saide, The horror of my sinne is heavier then I can beare, you doubt not but ^{Christ} as touching the vehemencie of the paine, was as sharpelie touched euen as the Reprobates themselves, yea if it may be, more extraordinarilie. You that are so well acquainted with the horrors of the Reprobates for their sinnes, that you dare attribute them to *Christ*, can you tell what they are? is it speculation that you speake of, or experience; that you dare thus subject the sonne of God to the same terrors and horrors of conscience, which namelie *Cain* as you saie, and other reprobates haue felt? I praye you, Sir, in so waightie matters as maie amounte to heresie

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heresie and open blasphemy, plaie not with generall termes, so as neither you vnderstande your selfe, nor anie man else can conceiue your meaning. The terrores of the wicked in this life wee can coniecture, you canne perhaps liuelie describe them, but so ought that wee learne by the scriptures they are such, as without horrible impietie you cannot ascribe vnto the Saviour of the worlde. Remorse of sinne committed, bering and gnawing the conscience, is the first of their paines, which suffereth them night nor daie to take anie rest. Secondlie, the feare that God, whome they haue despised, hath likewise relected them and is become their enemy, and therefore from him they looke for nothing, but the iust vengeance of their sinnes both in this life and the nexte, so pursueth them, that they tremble and die when no man followeth them. Thirdlie the griefe to forsee themselves excluded from the fellowship of that ioye and blisse, which is prouided for the saintes of G D D, which Chrysostom saith is far more bitter then the paine of hel, doth make them sinke for sorowe. Lastlie the continuall terroure of that dreadfull iudgement which shall be pronounced, of that horrible confusion which then shall ouerwhelme them; and of those eternall and intollerable flames of fire in which they shall burne; the verie terrour I saie and horrour thereof doeth so afflicke and torment them, as if they presently felt it. More wordes may bee vsed, and perhaps more vehement to amplifie their paine; but these are the partes and causes of that feare and horrour, which pursueth the wicked for their haynous offences. Can anie of these, (Sir Refuter,) bee appli'd to Christ? Woe you but offer so much as the mention of the least of them to bee founde in the sonne of G D D: I thinke you dare not; I hope you will not. What meaneth then this matching of Christ with Cain? yea this touching of Christ deeper then anie of the Reprobate? In horrour and paine you saie, *Christ was like them who be separated in deede*;

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“from the grace and love of God, yet himselfe never separated, but
 “alwaies most intirely beloned. The horrour and paine, which the
 Reprobate heere feeles, riseth from the remorse of their owne
 conscience, and from the distrust and feare of their owne
 hearts; which pursueth them even in this life before iudge-
 ment. The execution of his terrible vengeance indeede God
 hath reserved to the next life. The greatest terroz that the A-
 postle noteth in the wicked here in this world is, ² a feareful
 expectation of iudgment and of burning fire which shall deuour
 the aduersaries. What horrour then like the reprobate coulde
 the conscience of Christ feeles, that had no remorse, distrust,
 or feare of anie such thing as they haue, but was assured and
 secured of Gods everlasting fauour, and love in the highest
 degree: was there paine without horrour and feare in the
 soule of Christ: if you meane the paine that is consequent
 to our naturall affections, as to sorrowe and feare, you saie
 nothing to the purpose. Saint Iohn saith ^a *timor habet poenam*;
 Feare hath in it paine, and so hath sorrowe, even as hope hath
 ioye; ^b Reioice in hope; but this is not the paine which the
 Reprobate feeles, much lesse which the damned suffer; I
 trust their paine is more then a naturall oppressing and af-
 flicting of the heart with humane feare and sorrowe. And
 therefore if I conceane anie thing, you misse the truth verie
 much, Sir Confuter, when you saie that Christ was touched
 in horrour and paine as deepelie as the Reprobates are; and
 yet your conceite reacheth farther. For you defende that he
 suffered as much as the damned in hell, which is more then
 the reprobates doe in earth, howsoever to helpe your lear-
 ning you make hell and heauen heere on earth. For my
 selfe (Christian Reader) whence I thinke, the astonishment
 of Christ in the garden might rise, thou hast it in the treatise
 before, I shall not need to repeat it againe.

In like maner you extend Christs agonie too farre; for
 where it was an agonie of minde, which did not bereane him
 neither of sense, memorie, nor vnderstanding, you haue
 brought

^a Hebre. 10

^a 1. Iohn. 4

^b Rom. 12.

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brought vs a farrell of phrases, to expresse that *all the senses*,
of his bodie, and al the powers of his soule were amazed, astonished,
distempered, disturbed, distracted, forgetfull, ouerwhelmed, and
all confounded; and you thinke you neuer haue words enough
to expresse your follie, in dreameing of the greatest astonish-
ment that maie be, because the scripture saith, he began to
be astonished. But Sir, how proue you this you saie? as in
feares and sorowes there bee diuers degrees; so are there
likewise in astonishments. To be astonished is to ioine feare
with admiration, which doth with the minde so wholie to thinke
on some spectall thing aboue our reach, that during the time
we turne not our selues to anie other cogitation. Euen as
the eye, if it be bent intentiuelie to behold anie thing, for that
present it discerneth nothing else: So seareth it with his soule, if
the wholie addit her selfe to thinke on anie matter, she is a-
mused; if it bee more then she conceaue, or more fearefull
then she well indureth, she is amazed, or astonished; but not
of necessitie so, that she loseth either sense or memorie; one-
lie for that time she conuerteth neither to anie other object.
The present beholding of the diuine maiestie sitting in
iudgement; and of his iustice armed with infinite power
to reuenge the sinnes of men, might iustlie astonish the hu-
mane soule of Christ; seeing therewithal how mightilie God
was prouoked by the manifold and wilfull transgressions of
men; but this religious astonishment, though it might for a
season suspend all other thoughtes in our Saniour, yet is
there no neede it shoulde depriue him of vnderstanding,
sense or memorie. When Paul saith ^c worke your saluation
with feare and trembling, doth hee meane they should want
memorie or vnderstanding? When Moses receaued the law
from God, ^d so terrible was the sight that hee saide, I tremble
and quake. Was Moses therefore boide of sense or reason
at that present? ^e An horrible terror (saith Dauid) hath taken
mee for the vngodlie that forsake thy lawe. Was Dauid for
the ir sakes besides himselfe, and all confounded in bodie and
soule,

^c Philip. 2

^d Hebre. 12

^e Psal. 119.

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soule, as you speake here of Christ? Our whole conuersion should be as Paule professeth of himselfe, when hee saith, I was among you with much trembling and feare. Should therefore Christians be alwayes besides themselves?

[1 Cor. 2

[Page 61.

[8 Christ often praied vnto his Father, you saie, and then presented himselfe before the Maiestie of God; and yet wee do not reade that euer hee was vexed, terrified, and amazed in so doing.] Sir Refuter, if your vnderstanding and memorie be not lost, I tolde you that the humane nature of Christ presented it selfe before the maiestie of God in iudgement, there to suffer man euerslastingly to perish, whome hee deerele loued, or to undertake in his owne person that burthen, which the iustice of God, displeased with our sinnes, should laie vpon him. And if you doe not thinke this a cause sufficient for the manhode of Christ to feare and tremble, yea for the time to be astonished at the number of our sinnes, and terrour of Gods vengeance, provided for our eternall destruction both of bodie and soule, you be so deepe in your hellish paines, that your wits and senses are confounded. Absurdities and contrarieties are so rise with you, that you thinke other men can hardlie auoide them; but first vnderstand your owne, and then you shall the better charge others.

After you haue spent the whole strength of your small eloquence and lesse intelligence, to infer and amplifie the most

[Page 73.

[h wonderfull and piteous agonies, feares, sorrowes, miseries, outcries, teares, astonishment, forgetfulnesse, and confusion of the powers of nature with which the sense of Gods wrath afflicted, distracted, amazed, overwhelmed, and all confounded our Saviour in his whole humanity; You suddainlie, euen in the twinkling of an eye free him from all, and set him cleare, as if all this had bene but a dreame. For vpon Christs speaking of these wordes, 'Father', if it bee possible let this cuppe passe from mee; you inferre, k if Christ had thus praied aduisedly and with good memorie, against the knowne will of God hee had sinned

[1 Matth. 26.

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sinned. And in the words presentlie following without state
 or pause betweene, yet not my will, but thine bee doone,
 you imagine that Christ, ¹ as it were comming suddainly to,,
 himselfe quickly controled his former words. And thus when it,,
 pleaseth you, you put the sonne of God into ^m a wonderfull,,
 and piteous confusion and forgetfulnesse of all the powers and,,
 partes of his bodie and soule; and least you shoulde be convin-,,
 ced of a manifest, and irreligious vntueth, in the verie
 nicke of the nexte worde, which Christ spake with the same
 breath, you restore him to his perfect senses, and dis-
 charge him from your hellish confusion and paynes. But
 good Sir, if it were so *unsupportable and intolerable a bur-*,,
den, and confusion as you dreame of, howe came our,,
 Saviour to bee so lightlie and quicklie ridde of it, as if
 there had bene no such thing? was that heante and fierie
 wrath of God against our sinnes equall to hell so soone
 quenched? or was the sonne of God no longer able to en-
 dure it? ² Of all absurdities (your selfe beeing iudge, for,,
 it is your position) this is the greatest, that meere men should,,
 suffer more deepe lie then Christ. When if Cain endured this,,
 all his life long, if Saul and Iudas had no intermission
 of their payne, if the damned in hell, (from whome
 you fetch your patterne) doe everlastingly suffer it, howe
 commeth it to passe, that after you haue so hotlie stirred
 for it, you are so soone wearie of it? will you make vs
 beleue, that Christes obedience and patience was tried
 with a touch of this hellish paine, and so an ende? or will
 you returne it as often as please you? and if this cuppe
 did so quicklie passe from our Saviour, howe did hee
 then praye against the knowne will of God; which is an o-
 ther of your foundations, when as, in the uttering of these
 words, the cup did passe from him, by your owne confession?
 In like sorte to excuse Christ from sinne, ³ in praying a-,,
 gainst the will of his Father, you cast him into a wonderfull,,
 confusion

¹ Pag. 71.

^m Pag. 73

² Pag. 48.

³ Pag. 59

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- ¹ *confusion and forgetfulness of all the powers of his soule, and senses of his body: and in the same page, for an other advantage,*
- ² *you aonuch that in that praier, Christ PERFECTLY KNEVV the dominion of death should not holde him. Were all the powers of his soule ouerwhelmed and all confounded, and yet did he euen in that whole confusion of sense, memorie, and vnderstanding PERFECTLY KNOW the dominion of death should not holde him? can a man haue his knowledge and memorie all confounded and ouerwhelmed, and yet retaine PERFECT KNOWLEDGE? could Christ forget his fathers will in that praier through astonishment, and in the speaking of the words remember he praied amisse, and in the nexte worde quicklie correct himselfe? Surely these be conceites answerable to your cause; and deuises fit for your diuinitie; But (Sir Refuter,) let passe your dreames, and shewe vs your proofes, that Christ praied against the knowne will of his father, which you make the groundwork of this confusion: and when you haue so done, then prooue that your hellish paine was the cause of this astonishment. Spanie thinges might astonish our Saviour for the time, besides the paines of hell; and in that astonishment, if Christ had spokē he knew not what (which I beleue not) as^a Peter did when he sawe his glozie in the mountaine, it had bene a defect in nature, and no contempt of Gods counsell, much lesse such an infernall confusion as you describe.*
- ³ *[It is manifest (you saie) that Christ in plaine words praied contrarie to Gods known will:] It is more manifest that you knowe not what you saie. How could he praie against his Fathers will that praied expressely with this condition, Father if thou wilt take awaie this cup from me. [That is a correction after the praier (you will saie) and no condition in the praier.] Are you so captious against Christ, that you will not supplie one Euangelist with an other? Luke and Matthew put a plaine condition vnto the praier of Christ; the one saying, father if thou wilt; the other, father if*

¹ *2. 59.*

² *Luc. 9*

³ *2. 59*

⁴ *Luc. 22.*

⁵ *Mat. 26.*

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it be possible, that is to stand with thy will, and mans sal-
uation. And though Marke omit the condition in the tenor
of the praier, yet doth he fullie expresse his meaning to bee al-
one with the rest. For thus he saith of our Saviour, " hee
fell downe on the grounde, and praied that IF IT VVERE
POSSIBLE, that houre might passe from him. So that all
thre Euangelistes concur, that Christ praied not onelie
with a reservation of his fathers will, but annexed that con-
dition vnto his praier; and therefore in all mens eyes saue
yours, hee praied not in plaine wordes contrarie to Gods
knowne will. And this erroneous and contumelious positi-
on you set downe to the worlde, as the chiefeest foytresse of
your hellish paines, wherein you plainly wrest the scriptures
from their expresse words. [But S. Iohn, you will saie, repo-
teth Christs praier to bee simple made, * Father, saue mee
from this houre.] Saint Iohn speaketh of an other time and
place; and his wordes import a deliberation of two partes
proposed by our Saviour; with his resolution in the ende;
what shall I saie? Father deliuer me from this hower; that is,
Shall I saie deliuer me from this hower? but therefore came
I into this hower. Father glorifie thy name. Chrysostom thus
expoundeth Christs wordes: *Y NON DICO libera me ex
hac hora, sed pater glorifica nomen tuum.* I SAIE NOT, de-
liuer me from this hower, but father glorifie thy name. And so
doth Epiphanius. *Quid dicam pater? serua me ex hac hora; hoc
inquit dicam? at propterea veni in hanc horam.* What shall I
saie? Father saue mee from this hower? shall I saie so? but
therefore came I into this hower. But what better exposi-
tor canne wee haue then Saint Paul, who plainly saith that
Christ in making this praier was heard, & ² deliuered from
that he feared. Wee praied not against the knowne will of
God, whose praiers God heard and performed. And where
you site to this hellish confusion to saue Christ from sinne;
by pretending to cleere him from sinne, you charge him ra-
ther with sinne. For the praier which is not made in faith,

"Mark. 14.

"Iohn. 12

"Chrysost. in
Ioan. Homil. 66

Epiphan. lib. 2.
Hærel. 69.

"Hebre. 5

is sinne. For we can the heart be assured it shall receive that it asketh at Gods hands, if it bee neither directed to aske according to the will of God, nor prepared to aske with that devotion which is fit for God: So that when you make Christ to triple his prayers with vehement teares and cries, & still repugnant to the will of God, you challenge the sonne of God with open sinne, from which you would seeme to excuse him. And as for your double relapse into the same astonishment still, when Christ was twice cleere from it, it is a foolish device of your idle braines, as if the Lorde no sooner returned to his prayers, but your hellish confusion did waite at his heeles, to interrupt and overthrow him; and within sixe wordes againe to leave him. If your cause be holie, lest not thus prophane lie with the sonne of God, nor berewe him of his wits, when you thinke god. If it were a necessarie effect of Gods wrath, then after it lighted on our Saviour in the garden, it must continue till man was redeemed, and Gods wrath appeased, which was not done but by the death of Christ. And therefore make your choise: either let the wrath of God cease in the garden, when Christ ended his prayers; or if that still continued to the death, let also this astonishment still continue, or at least bee no necessarie effect of Gods wrath. One of these you must take, take which you will; the rest will serve to subvert your tower of Babel.

[I doe you wrong, you will saie, to call your opinion the tower of Confusion;] you do your selfe wrong (Sir Refuter) in the chiefest point of Christian religion to leave the faith confessed by the whole Church of Christ for these 1500. yeares, and to walke in such ambiguities, and absurdities as your selfe doe not understande. For I praye you, Sir, this wonderfull confusion and astonishment in all powers of the soule, and senses of the bodie, is it a necessarie consequent to the wrath of G D D, or no? If it bee, (for you saie, Christ could not but sinke, and bee confounded under that burden) howe cometh it to passe, that

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that the reprobate and desperate, feeling the sense of
 G D D S wrath vpon them, doe not loose their wits, and
 senses as Chriſt by your assertion did? will you affirme
 they are astoniſhed and all confounded as Chriſt was? then
 if you excuse Chriſt from sinne, in diſliking and declining
 his Fathers knowne will, because hee was astoniſhed;
 you muſt likewiſe excuse all the wicked and Reprobate
 from their finnes, after they once feele the ſenſe of Gods
 wrath, because they cannot but bee astoniſhed and con-
 founded vnder that burden? Again, coulde Chriſt not
 ſinne, whiles hee felte the wrath of God vpon him, be-
 cauſe he was astoniſhed? Ergo neither coulde hee merite
 all that while, and ſo neither his obedience, patience, hu-
 militie, nor charitie coulde haue anie place, or vſe, ſo
 long as the ſenſe of G D D S wrath dured. Haue you not
 deniſed vs a goodlie ſenſe of Gods wrath, that ſhall exclude
 Chriſt Ieſus from the exerciſe of all his graces, vertues,
 and merites? This palpable abſurditie you thinke to
 ſhippe, (Sir Refuter,) but your wit is too weak, or your
 cauſe not good; it will not bee. [*If a man in diſtreſſe fall*
a ſleepe, ſaie you, or be astoniſhed with ſome violent blowe,
on the head, in ſuch an one there is no decaye of faith, nor of
obedience, nor of patience, nor of loue; euen ſo in Chriſt there
was no defect of grace, but an infirmitie of nature .] Was
 Chriſt a ſleepe or in a ſwoone? astoniſhed you thinke, he was.
 Was hee ſo astoniſhed that his ſenſes were taken from
 him? did hee not walke? did hee not ſpeake? did hee not pray?
 whie then compare you this to a ſleepe or a ſwoone; whereas in
 Chriſt was neither? and though you plainelie ſaie in your
 compariſon; yet, were it ſo, as you would haue it, ſo your life
 you cannot auoide my concluſion. For a man in a ſleepe
 or a ſwoone, though hee looſe not the habite of faith and pati-
 ence, obedience and loue, yet haſt hee no vſe of them ſo
 that time; much leſſe doth hee ſerue God wiſh them. But
 Chriſt Ieſus by all his ſufferinges muſt merite, which a

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man a sleepe or amazed cannot doe. And therefore remem-
ber, (Sir Refuter) this reason amongst the rest is yet vn-
answerd; and I thinke will somewhat trouble your busines
before it bee answered. All that Christ suffered for our Re-
demption was, and must bee, meritorious with God. But the
suffering of hell paynes, which astonish and confounde all
the powers of the soule, and senses of the bodie, neither was,
nor coude bee meritorious with God; Christ therefore did not
suffer such hellish paynes as did confounde and astonish all the
powers of his soule and senses of his bodie. And thus, by
your amazed position, you haue wholie confounded your
owne opinion.

Thou hast heard (good Reader) a number of the Refu-
ters speciall folies; I haue some fewe moze to trouble thee
with, and so I will leaue him to his holie cause, and thee to
the mercies of God. To shewe him selfe learned as well in
the Greeke tongue, as in philosophie, hee undertaketh an o-
ther reason that I made, and spoileth him selfe somewhat
handsomlie with it. Out of the list to the Hebrewes where
the Apostle saith, ^b Christ in the daies of his flesh did offer
vp prayers and supplications with strong cryes and teares vnto
him that was able to saue him from death, and was heard in that
he feared, or deliuered from his feare; I collected two things.
First that Christ in his prayers made in ϕ garden (for to those
the Apostle pointeth) did but feare, and not as then suffer
that he feared. The next, he was deliuered from his feare;
and consequentlie neuer came to suffer that from which hee
was deliuered. This Confuter replieth, as hee thinketh,
verie soundlie, and verie sufficientlie. Thou shalt heare the
whole. My reason hee maketh to bee this. ^c *That wherein*

Hebre. 5

^a Pag. 74.

^d Ibidem.

^a Christ was heard and deliuered from by prayer, he feared but felt
^c not. But Christ was heard and deliuered by prayer from the wrath
^d which he feared, therefore he felt it not. His answer is. ^d Nay
^e euer therefore he felt it. Wee deny therefore the first proposition.
^e For hee was in some sense of it, when hee prayed against it, and was
heard

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heard. He had then some foretast but the extremity came after, which hee before feared. And finally hee being in all this, was heard (as the verie word (εἰσκούσθεις) seemeth to import) and deliuered from it, that is at least, not before hee had felt it. Againe very the fearing of Gods wrath is a true feeling, I saie not a full feeling, but a true feeling: but it is granted that now in this Agonie hee feared the wrath of God: Therefore hee truely felt it. Therefore the Question is granted. You wrote this in the morning, Sir Refuter, when you were fresh and fasting, it is soft and sharpe; but be like it was darke, or your eyes were dull you could not see neither what I said, nor what your selfe saie. The force of my reason consisted in this, that where feare goeth before suffering, and is no longer called feare when suffering cometh; if Christ at the time of his prayers in the garden were deliuered from his feare, much more from anie suffering of that hee feared. And since by your owne positions you affirme hee feared in his agonie the paines of hell; I concluded hee suffered them not. Let vs now see howe you impugne this reason. You first change suffering into feeling, and because the soule in all his affections hath a kind of feeling, you inferre, naie therefore Christ felt it. Your manner is too shrowde your selfe with generall and ambiguous words that may signifie anie thing, and then you shew your learning in speaking you know not what. But vse the word suffering which I did, or take feeling for suffering, in which sense I made stand; and then see how absurdly and falsly you take my reason at this rebound. For then you must saie. Fearing is a kind of feeling, Christ feared the paines of hell, ergo Christ suffered them; and so by your logicke whosoever feareth captiuitie or death, is a captiue, and dead; and hee that feareth to lose his purse, hath lost it; yea hee that feareth to offend God, doth offend him; and hee that feareth to bee an heretike, is an heretike. I thought though your diuinitie had not, yet your

Vide Pag. 29.

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* Cicero: Tuf-
cul. quæst. lib. 4

† Lactantius de
vero cultu. li.
6. ca. 14

‡ Ambrose de
Iacob et beata
vira li. 1. ca. 2.

§ Gregor. mo-
ral. li. 9. cap. 39.

Philosophie coulde haue serued you to vnderstand; that
metus est mali impendentis, aegritudo presentis; feare is of an
 euill approaching; grieve or paine, of an euill present. If you
 scoone philosophers, whom for the propriety of words, you
 preferre before all the diuines in the world, as anon shall
 appeare; Lactantius telleth you, that of Desire, ioy, feare and
 sorrow, the two first (desire and ioy) are for good things ap-
 proching or present: the two last (feare and sorrow) for euill
 likewise approaching or present. S. Ambrose will teach you
 that, *ante dolorem est timor, post dolorem tristitia*: feare is
 before grieve or paine; after paine followeth heauines. And like-
 wise Gregorie, *In his vltimo tormentis, timor dolorem habet, do-*
lor timorem non habet, quia nequaquam mentem metus cruciat,
cum pati iam ceperit, quod metuebat. In the torments in this life
 feare hath some grieve, but grieve hath no feare; because feare
 doth not afflict the mind, when a man once suffereth that, which
 he feared. This were enough to make my argument good,
 but it hath yet more strength from the Apostles words: Christ
 praying in the garden was heard from his feare; that is was
 deliuered from his feare. How is a man deliuered from his
 feare by suffering that he feared? So wee test with men,
 when we will giue them their deserts, and let them stand no
 longer in suspence; but God so tested not with his sonne, as
 to rid him from his feare, by present punishment. God there-
 fore heard Christs prayer and deliuered him from his feare;
 when as yet he did not suffer it; and being deliuered from it
 in the garden, how came he to suffer it more extremely on
 the Crosse? For you saie, *Christ was in some sense of it, when*
he prayed against it, he had then some fort aske of it, but the extre-
mitie came after, which he before feared. Saye confuter, if you
 can test & gybe thus with the Apostles words, I must leave
 you as lacking both conscience & common sense; & so will all y
 be godly. Christ praying in the garden was deliuered from his
 feare, saith Paul; that is say you, after he had suffered on the
 Crosse, the extremitie of that which he before feared. So the
 Christ

† Pag. 74.

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Christ to be deliuered, from that he feared, was (by your construction) to suffer the extremitie of that he feared. Will you that God send you such deliuerance in the time of need, that so prophanely play with the deliuerance of his sonne? [Hee was deliuered you will say, from the continuance of it?] No (good Syr) Christ neuer feared the paines of hell should continue on him after death, it is horrible blasphemy so to thinke; & vnto death you say they continued. How was he then deliuered from his feare? or haue you so soone forgotten your owne words, if you regard not myne? ¹ It is absurd to saie he praied in feare against that which he perfectly knew should neuer come vnto him, namely that, the Dominion of Death should hold him. If the dominion of death should not hold his bodie, much lesse should hell hold his soule.

¹ Pag. 59.

[But the Greeke word, *ἠκούσθη*, you saie, siemeth to import a deliuerance after Christ was in that he feared: *ἠκούσθη*, ¹ Hee was heard being in it.] As is your dinnittie, Syr confuter, so is your Greeke. For if Christ were heard; then God did heare him; & so it is soryned to the paines of hell; *ἠκούσθη* signifie that Christ was heard being in the paines of hell; then *ἠκούσθη*, soryned to the Aalue, and referred to God, must likewise import that God being in the same paines did heare him. Haue you not brought vs a learned obseruation out of your Greeke store; that God which heard, and Christ that was heard, were both in the paines of hell? But indeed *ἠκούσθη* is to hearken vnto, as wee do when we bend our eare to anothers speech; and *ἠκούσθη* is hearkened vnto or heard. The word is further a used in the new testament, but in the Septuagint nothing more frequent to signifie that we hearken to Gods voice when we obey him, and God hearkeneth to our voice, when hee graunteth our prayers. Feare not saith the Angell to Zacharie: *ἠκούσθη* ² thy prayer is heard, thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee a sonne. See the Angell to Cornelius, *ἠκούσθη* ³ thy prayer is heard. ⁴ with

¹ Pag. 63.

² Luc. 11.

³ with ⁴ Act. 10.
strange

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• 1 Cor: 14

• Eccles: 3:

1: Job: 22:

• Psal. 55

• Esa. 59.

1: 2: 3:

• Pag. 74.

strange toonges will I speake to this people, saith the Lord, *καὶ οὐδ' ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐπακούσουσίν μου*, and neither so will they harken vnto mee. The wise man in like manner, *ὁ ἐπακούων Κυρίου*, hee that harkeneth vnto the Lord, giueth rest to his mother. And the Septuagint, Whē thou praieſt, saith Eliphaz in the booke of Job, *ἐπακούσει σε*, God will heare thee. Earlie, saith David to God, *ἐπακούει τῆς φωνῆς μου*, shalt thou heare my voice. So in Esaie, the care of the Lord is not shutte, *μὴ ἐπακούει* not to heare. Infinite exam-
ples might bee brought to the same end, but these are suffici-
ent to conuince your ignorant mistaking of the Greeke
tongue; yet the Question you saie is granted. For fearing
is a *work* feeling, and if Christ feared the wrath of God, ergo he
felt it. You reckon a pace when you reckon alone, but when
you come for allowance you will lacke a faire deale of your
reckning. If fearing were suffering, which is most ab-
surd; if there were no kind of feare, but your amazed and
all confounded feare; as there be more other kinds of
feared; if there were not more parts of the wrath of God,
but hell paines, as there be sundrie more; if no man might
feare but for himselfe, as in charitie wee may, and in duty
we ought to feare for others, and Christ in love might and
did for vs; then had you some hope, that he which granteth
the one, would admit the other: but if this be all you can saie,
that feare is a kind of feeling, I am as farre from granting
the Question, as I was in the first beginning. For though
you dallie with doubtfull words, and thinke it enough to
catch here and there at a likelihood, my course is not so. In-
deede out of these words prediſposed vpon your owne prin-
ciples: and supposing it for the time to be true which on
this place some auouch, that Christ feared the paines of hell,
I concluded, if Christ were deliuered from fearing, he was
certainlie deliuered from suffering the paines of hell.
And beside you anſwere the argument, you triumph as
if the Question were granted. But O; remember it
is

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is the suffering of hell paines that we talke of, and not of a Metaphoricall kinde of feeling; which you substitute in stead thereof. Againne all the effects of Gods wrath Christ did not feelee, nor feare, as namelie, neither reprobation, nor desperation, nor eternall damnation, which is the chiefest and sharpest effect of Gods iust wrath against sinne. Some partes thereof if hee did feare, and so in affection feelee, howe doth it followe hee felt or feared hell paines? Thirdlie, hee did sustaine as well our person, as our cause; hee had not onelie compassion on vs, but coniunction with vs; and in that respect as our head hee might worthilie feare the everlasting destruction of his bodie, if he did not interpose himselfe, and avert Gods wrath from them, by healing them with his owne stripes, and bearing their sinnes in his owne bodie. Fourthlie he might feare the power of Gods wrath, able to punish even the bodie of Christ with farre moze smart, then his humane flesh was able to endure. Lastlie, hee might carefullie shunne and decline both our sinne and the wages of our sinne, which is eternall death with a religious feare, as content to redeeme vs, but not to destroy both himselfe and vs.

And this commeth nearest the signification of the Greek worde there used, which is no confused or amazed feare, such as you woulde cunninglie convey vnder the name of a *perplexed feare*, but a carefull and diligent regarde to beware and decline that, which wee mislike or doubt. And therefore *εὐλαβία* is not onelie one that feareth God by taking good care not to displease him, but a circumspect and warie man in other thinges; and *εὐλάβεια* is circumspection and warinesse in private or publique affaires, as well as Religion to God. Nowe because the boldest men are, the sooner they adventure on any thing, and the more fearefull, the more hard they take what they do; *εὐλάβεια* by consequent signifieth an inclination rather to feare, then presumption; but it is lesse then φόβος, which

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is the vsuall worde in Greeke for feare, as maie plainelie be proued by Plutarch in his Treatise of Morall vertue; where, noting howe men couer vitiuous affections vnder the names of vertues, he saith, * ἡ αἰσχύνεσθαι αἰδέεσθαι καλῶσι, καὶ τὸ ἠδιδεσθαι χαίρειν, καὶ τὸς φόβος εὐλαβείας; They call blushing reuerence; mirth gladnesse, and feare warinesse. Euripides in the person of Eteocles king of Thebes, saith, ἡδὲ εὐλαβεία χρησιματότατη πᾶν, Circumspect care is the most profitable Goddesse. And where you quote the 23. of the Acts for prooofe of your consett, the place is rather against you then with you. For when the Councell dissentied about Paule, and some tumult began to arise, the 2 Tribune doubting least some hurt might happen vnto Paule then his prisoner, prevented it, and sent his souldiers to take him awaie from the midst of the throng. This feare of the tribune was for another man, not for himselfe, neither was a perplexed or amazed feare, but a doubt forecasting the worst, and preventing it. So is it writtten of Moab, that being admonished by God of the flood which should come vpon the world, by faith * εὐλαβηθεὶς, fearing, declining and preventing (what God had threatned to others) he made ready the Arke, for the sauing of his houlholde. This could be no distrustfull feare, that should befall him and his house; for his faith is commended by the Apostle in preparing the Arke, for the safetie of himself and his children; but he shunned that which he saw would light on others; and that the scripture there calleth εὐλαβηθεὶς. The rest that maie concerne Christs pater in the garden, or might occasion that agonie which there hee shewed, thou hast (gentle Reader) in the 2 treatise before; which I will not here resume, least I wearie thee with ouer much tediousnesse.

For a farewell to his spectall reasons, the Confuter hath reserved matters of most spectall moment to the last: and because they are weightie and neede good prooofe, hee hath searched the bottome of his studie, and sheweth vs here

* Plutarch. de
virtute moral.

* Euripid. in
Phœniss.

* Acts. 23.

* Heb. 11.

* Vide pag. 17.

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the depth as well of his reading, as understanding. Out of the Epistle to the Hebrews he citeth these wordes; ^b Christ through death abolished him that had the power of death, that is the Diuell. From hence hee reasoneth thus. ^c Surely the worde DEATH hath the same meaning in both places: verie fonde it were to take it here otherwise. Nowe it is questionedleffe, in this latter place, death signifieth the death of the soule, the tormentes and sorrowes of the damned, which are separated from the life of God: of which death the Diuell is sayde to haue the power and execution. Therefore in the former place death signifieth so to, euen the death of the soule, that is the tormentes and sorrowes due to the damned, and consequently Christ suffered the death of the soule. And because this reason will seeme altogether vnrasonable and harsh in the eares of some, to saie the least of it, let them soberlie consider it, and it is most true and euident: For if this will not perswade men to beleeue that Christ died the death of the soule, men lining being surprised with grievous sorrowes and paines, will saie (as Terence witnesseth, occidi, perij, interij) they die, they perish. So likewise the death of the soule sometimes maie bee understoode and that most fitte for the paines and sufferinges of Gods wrath, which alwayes accompanie them that are separated from the grace and love of God. And if Terence bee not authoritie sufficient, Saint Peter against whom he lieth no exception, saith, that Christ in his suffering for vs was done to death in the flesh, but made alive by the spirite. And in the Scripture whensoever the flesh and the spirite are opposed together, the flesh is alwayes Christes whole humanitie, I saie not his bodie onelie, but his soule also. From hence nowe it followeth, that Christes soule also died, and was crucified according to the death and crucifying, which soules are subiect unto, and capable of. I haue (Christian Reader) neither perverted the reasons, nor pared the authorities, on which this Confuter groundeth his conclusion, that Christ died

the death of the soule, and that Christs soule was also crucified as well as his bodie; I haue onelie sette them together, that thou maiest with one view behold both the deepnes and soundnesse of this vpstart wziter; and in thy secrete and vp-right iudgement, is it not patience enough to heare and endure a two legged creature to talke in this sort without all learning, religion or discretion, controlling all the fathers as soles, for thinking otherwise then hee doth, commaunding the Scriptures pretor-like, to serue his ignorant and lewd assertions, and esteeming none to be sober or considerate, except they confesse his shamefull absurdities to bee most true and euident? But I haue not learned nor vsed to giue reuiling speeches, the Lorde repproue his follie. Though it bee not worth the answering, yet for their sakes that bee simple, I will not refuse to speake to it, and to let them see what difference there is betwixt truth and error.

Your maine reason (Sir Refuter) is this, in these wordes
 “ of the Apostle, Christ through death abolished the diuell that
 “ had power of death. This worde DEATH (say you) hath the
 “ same meaning in both places, the profe you make for it is this,
 “ verie fond it were to take it here otherwise. Your assumption is,
 “ but death in the latter place questionlesse signifieth the death of
 “ the soule; Therefore Christ died the death of the soule. It were
 as easie for mee to saie, it is not so; as for you to saie, it is so; but that course which you holde is but prating of euerie thing, it is no prouing of ante thing. Howe manie kinds of death there are, wee shall better learne by the graue father Saint Austen, then by the young louers in Terence: *Dicitur mors prima, dicitur & secunda. Prima mortis dua sunt partes, una qua peccatrix anima per culpam discessit a creatore suo: altera qua iudicante Deo exclusa est per penam à corpore suo. Mors autem secunda ipsa est corporis & anima punitio sempiterna.* There is a first death and a second Death. Of the first death there be two parts: one, when the

¹ August. ¹serm.
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the sinfull soule by offending departed from her Creator; the other whereby the soule for her punishment was excluded from her bodie by Gods iustice. The second death is the euclasting torment of bodie and soule. The same partes and kindes of death are often repeated by him in his 13. booke *de ciuitate Dei*; as namelie, *Mors anima fit cum eam deserit Deus, sicut corporis cum id deserit anima. Ergo vtriusq; rei id est totius hominis mors est, cum anima à Deo deserta deserit corpus. Ita enim nec ipsa uiuit ex deo, nec corpus ex ipsa. Huiusmodi autem totius hominis mortem illa sequitur quam secundam mortem diuinorum eloquiorum appellat authoritas. Nam illa pœna vltima & sempiterna recte mors anima dicitur.* The death of the soule is, when God forsaketh her, as the death of the bodie is, when the soule forsaketh the bodie. So y death of both, that is of the whole man is when the soule forsaken of God forsaketh her bodie. For so neither she liueth by God, nor the bodie by her. This death of the whole man, that other death followeth; which the diuine scriptures call the second death, for that last and euclasting punishment is rightlie called the death of the soule. Here are three kindes of death; sinne which separateth vs from God, bodilie death, which separateth the soule from the body, and eternall damnation which tormenteth body and soule for euer. In the Apostles words to the Hebrues, that Christ through death abolished y diuell that had power of death; you will by no meanes haue the death of the bodie intended; that is a benefite and gaine to the godlie. Then of sinne and eternall damnation the diuell must be said to haue power, and indeede so he hath. For hee is the perswader and leader to sinne, and the executioner and tormentor in damnation. And so by your diuinitie Christ must sinne, and be euclastinglie condemned to hell fire, befoze he can abolish the Diuell that hath power of both these. For he must abolish him, by the same kind of death, whereof hee hath power. Lookes, Sir Resuiter, what an wholesome exposition of the Apostles words you haue made vs, which the diuell himselte durst not adventure,

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it is so blasphemous. God forbid you will say, this should be anie part of your meaning. But if such bee your ignorant rashnesse, that you will so expound scriptures, as these consequents shall necessarie followe, you must leaue writing, and fall to learning another while, till you be able to foresee what may iustly be inferred vpon your positions. Deaths of the soule there are none mentioned in anie Scripture, or father, but sinne and eternall damnation. Leane the patheticall, hyperbolicall & metaphoricall phrases of Terence, to boies in the Grammer schole, speake at least like a diuine, though you bee none. If your cause bee so holie a truth as you talke of, it hath both foundation and approbation in the Scriptures. You shall not neede to runne to heathen Poets to prooue that the Saviour of the worlde died the death of the soule. What the death of the soule is, what consequentes it hath, and what maine and mosse sufficient reasons there are, why Christ neither did, nor might die the death of the soule, thou hast (good Reader) before in the Treatise it selfe: if this fumbler either will skippe them, or can not answer them, I must not repeate them as often as hee will neglect them. Yet to ease thee of going backe, I will here giue thee the effect thereof.

Vide pag. 73.

The life and death of the soule is in manie hundred places learnedly and truly vouched and prooued by Saint Austen.¹ *Mori carni tua est amittere vitam suam; mori anima tua est amittere vitam suam. Vita carnis tua anima tua, vita anima tua Deus tuus. Quomodo moritur caro amissa anima, qua vita eius est; sic moritur anima amisso Deo, qui vita est eius.* For thy bodie to die, is to loose his life; and for thy soule to die, is to loose her life. The life of thy bodie is thy soule. The life of thy soule is thy God. As the bodie dieth when the soule is departed, which is his life; so the soule dieth when God is departed which is her life. And againe.^m *Quomodo ergo mortua est anima de qua vixit corpus? Audi ergo & disce*

¹ August. de verbis Apost. serm. 30.

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*disce; corpus hominis creatura Dei est, & anima hominis creatura dei est. De anima deus vivificat carnem, ipsam autem animam vivificat de seipso, non de seipso. Vita ergo corporis anima est, vita anima Deus est: moritur corpus cum recedit anima, moritur ergo anima si recedit Deus. Carnem iacentem sine anima vides; animam miseram sine Deo videre non potes? Crede ergo, adhibe oculos fidei. How dieth the soule then by which the bodie liueth? Harken and learne. The bodie of man is the creature of God, & so is the soule. By the soule God giueth life to the flesh, but the soule her selfe God quickeneth by himselfe, and not by herselfe. The life of the bodie then is the soule, the life of the soule is God. The bodie dieth when the soule departeth, ergo the soule dieth if God depart from her. Thou seest the flesh lying dead without a soule, and canst thou not see the soule wretched without God? Beléeue then, and open the eies of faith. And speaking of the particular consequents to the life and death of the soule, the same father saith: ⁿ *Quomodo cum anima est in corpore, praeat illi vigorem, decorem, mobilitatem; Sic cum vita eius Deus est in ipsa, praeat illi sapientiam, pietatem, iustitiam, charitatem; veniente itaq; verbo & audientibus infuso resurgit anima à morte sua ad vitam suam, hoc est ab iniquitate, ab insipientia, ab impietate, ad Deum suum qui est illi sapientia, iustitia, charitas.* As when the soule is in the bodie, shee giueth vigour, comelineffe and motion to the bodie; so when God her life is in the soule, he giueth her wisdom, pietie, righteousness and charitie. The worde (of God) then sounding and infused to the hearers, the soule riseth from her death to her life, that is from iniquitie, follie, and impietie, to her God, who is to her wisdom, righteousness, and charitie. If this were not platine enough; the Scriptures themselves are so evident, that no man can mistake the life of the soule, except hee will purposefully blinde himselfe, least hee shoulde come to the knowledge of the truth. For the sonne of God is*

• life, and comming down from heauen, & gaue life to the world,
 • quickning whom hee would with the waters of life, that is

• Augustin Io-
 han. tract, 19.

• John. 1.

• John. 6:

• John. 5.

• John. 7.

by

Rom. 8.
 John 6.
 John 15
 Galat. 3.
 1. John 4.
 1. John 5.
 Colof. 3.
 Reuel. 22.

by the spirite of life, yea: whosoever beleueth, and abideth in him, hath life and beareth fruite in him. For the iust shall liue by faith, and he that dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God, and God in him, for God is loue. So that not onely Christ is our life, and he that hath the sonne hath life, but with him, and in him, alwaies was, and alwaies will bee, the fountaine of life, which neuer did nor can dye vp: how then could Christ die the death of the soule, whose soule was personallie vnted, vnto the worde that was life in it selfe? And if the grace and spirite of God in vs, make vs liue by God, and in God; if faith and loue knitte men to the life of God; howe coulde the soule of Christ alwaies full of grace and truth, alwaies full of faith and loue, and of the holie Ghost, bee deade?

[But this Refuter meaneth another death of the soule.] What his meaning is, is not matterall, but whether hee mixe any truth or no. If he will frame vs a monster in christian religion, what haue I to do with that, but to detest it? There is another death after this life, mentioned both in scriptures and fathers, which is the second death. But I hope this Confuter will eate and sleepe vpon the cause before hee swappe our Saviour within euermlasting damnation. That is, a death in deed from which God blesse and saue vs all. They must needs bee good Christians that labour to bring Christs soule within the compasse of the second death. *Hac mortalitas est umbra mortis; vera mors est damnatio cum Diabolo.* Our death is here but a shadow of death; the true death indeede is damnation with the diuell, saith Austen. And againe. *Quid est ista mors? Est relictio corporis, depositio sarcina grauis: mors secunda, mors eterna, mors gehennarum, mors damnationis cum Diabolo, ipsa est vera mors:* What is this death? It is the leauing of the bodie, and the laying downe of an heauier burthen; for the second death, the death that is eternall, the death of hell, the death of condemnation with the Diuell, that is the true death. Which of these two deaths of the soules,

Auguſt in pla.
 43.
 Idem in Io-
 han. tract. 43

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soules, you will haue the soule of Christ subiected vnto, you must tell vs, (Sir Refuter,) if you will needs haue him die the death of the soule; and the choise is so good, that take which you will, you incur hatinous and horrible blasphemie. I wish you to bee better aduised, then to procede to the defence of so wilfull a frensie. As for new deaths of the soule, you haue no commission to inuent anie; shewe what scripture or Father spake it before you, or you must giue the godlie leaue to thinke you no fit founder of a newe faith. S. Austen was of opinion that no Christian durst auouch that Christ died the death of the soule, *Nam quod Iesus anima mortificatus fuerat, quis audeat dicere, cum mors anima non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit?* That Christ was dead in soule VVHO DARES AFFIRME IT, whereas the death of the soule (in this life) is nothing but sinne, from which hee was altogether free? you not onelie auouch it, but you thinke no man sober that will not consent to it. But you did well to prophesie of this conceite of yours, that it woulde seeme harsh and altogether unreasonable in the eares of some, so saie the least of it; In the eares of all that bee wise and learned it will sound worse, for it is a flat repugnancie not only to all the Fathers, but euen to the christian faith, that Christ died as well in soule as in bodie; and as meane a man as I am, I thinke I shall bee able to make that good which I saie. For if the soule of Christ were alwaies perfectlie vnted vnto life, fullie possessed of life, and abundantly able to giue life, tell me I praye you howe it maye stande with the trueth of the scriptures, that the same soule was for ante time deade? you maye euen as well defende that Christ sinned, as that his soule died, for the death of the soule is sinne in this life, and damnation in the next. *Certe anima Christi nulla mortificata peccato vel damnationis punita est, quibus duabus causis mors anima intelligi potest:* Surelie the soule of Christ was deade with no sinne, nor punished with any damnation, which are the two waies that the death of the soule maye bee

Idē epist. 99

Aug. epist. 99

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possibly conceaued.

¹ Pag. 77.

“ [The death of the soule, say you, may be vnderstood, & that
“ most fitly, for the paines and sufferings of Gods wrath, which al-
“ waies accompany them that are separated from the grace and love
“ of God. This death of the soule yee affirme Christ suffered;
“ yet hee himselte neuer separated, but most intirely beloued, yea
“ most^h holie, most innocent, and most blessed.] You contradict,

¹ Pag. 42

(Sir Refuter,) not onlie the scriptures and fathers, but euen
your selte in one and the same sentence, and reele like a
man whose braines are not steadie. ¹ *Secundum scripturas*

¹ Ambros. de
fide resurrect.

*triplicem esse mortem accepimus. Vna est cum morimur peccato,
deo viuimus. Beata mors qua a mortali nos separat, immortal
conseruat. Alia mors est vita excessus cum anima nexu corporis
liberatur. Tertia mors est de qua dictum est, anima qua pecca-
uerit, ipsa morietur. Ea morte non solum caro sed etiam anima
moritur; hac mors non est perfunctio huius vita, sed lapsus erro-
ris.* By the scriptures (saith Ambrose) we learne there is a tri-
ple death. One when we die to sinne and liue to God. This is

a blessed death, which seuereth vs from that which is mortall,
and ioineth vs to that which is immortal. The second is the de-
parture out of this life; when the soule is deliuered from the
bandes of her bodie. The thirde death is that of which it is
written; the soule that sinneth, shall die; this death dieth not
onelie the flesh, but the soule also; for it is not the ending of
this life, but the running into error. ² The first is the life

² Ibidem.

of the soule, and the death of sinne; which is SPIRITV-
ALL. The second is the ceasing of this life which is NAT-
VRALL; the thirde is not onelie sinne but destruction,
which is PENALL. Which of these agreeth to Christ,
Ambrose himselte will tell you. ¹ *Quid est Christus nisi*

¹ Ibidem;

mors corporis, spiritus vita? What is Christ but the death of
the bodie, and the Spirit of life? When Christ died not the
death of the soule, for the spirit of life cannot die, vnlesse
you will make life it selfe to bee death. Yea, they which in
this worlde die the death of the soule are separated from
Christ.

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Christ, for did they abide in him, they shoulde abide in life; he is ^m the waie, the truth, and (not onelie living, but) ^m *John. 14* life it selfe; This testimonie our Saviour giveth of himselfe, ⁿ Verilie, verilie I saie vnto you, hee that beleeueth in mee hath eternall life. If they cannot die the death of the soule, which beleeue in Christ, howe much lesse can Christ himselfe die that death? And heere, (Sir Refuter) you broch so grosse and palpable an errour, that women and childzen will deride you. For if the tormentes of hell and paines of the damned *do alwayes accompany them that are separated from the grace and love of God*, howe manie hundred thousand thousandes of all sortes, sexes, and ages in all kingdomes and countries shoulde bee disturbed, distracted, and confounded in all the powers of their soules and senses of their bodie? where are the ^o riches of Gods [•] *Rom. 2* bounteousnesse, patience and long suffering which the Apostle so highlie commendeth, as leading vnto repentance? How could Abraham with anie truth saie to the rich man in hell; Sonne remember thou in thy life time receauedst thy good things and *LAZARUS* paines; where if your position be true, the paines of Lazarus coulde not bee comparable to the tormentes and paines that *ALWAIES ACCOMPANIE* the wicked: I assure thee (christian Reader) a man could not with fewer and foolisher wordes then these, more crosse the whole tenor of the scriptures. For the wicked here in this life abound with all wealth, ease, and prosperitie, inso much that manie of the godlie haue bene and still are offended with it. Reade the 72. Psalme, and see whether these intolerable and horrible feares, sorowes, paines, and tormentes of hell and the damned, do alwaies accompanie them heere in this life. [•] *Psal. 72* My feete were almost gone (saith Dauid) when I sawe the peace of the wicked. There are no bands in their death, they are lustie and strong, they are not in trouble, nor plagued with other men, their eies stand out for fatnesse, they haue more then their heart can wish. Lo these are the wicked, yet *PROSPER*

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THEY ALWAIE, and increase in riches. This was too hard for me till I went into the sanctuarie of God, then I vnderstood their ende. So that God with much patience suffereth the vessels of wrath prepared vnto destruction, who according to their harde and impenitent hearts, heape vp wrath vpon themselves against the daie of the declaration of the iust iudgement of God, whose suddaine destruction is then nearest, when they shall say peace and safety.

• Rom. 9

• Rom. 2

• 1. Theſſ. 5

• Ephes. 2

• 1. Cor. 68.

• Pag. 77.

• Pag. 73.

• Pag. 53.

• Pag. 45.

• Pag. 80.

• Pag. 81.

And what maruell you crosse the scriptures in confounding the wrath of God to come with the wrath of God present in this life; when you doe not see your owne wordes to be contrarie one to the other? For if Christ died the death of the soule, which is an alienation from the life of God, howe was he neuer separated, but alwaies intirely beloued and most blessed? If hee were neuer separated from the life of God, howe came he to die the death of the soule, which must needs be a separation for the time from God, vnlesse you can match light and darkenesse, death and life together, and make the one to be the other, and both to cleaue to God himselfe. But what cannot you do, that can make the paines of the damned, and torments of hell the onlie true and perfectie accep-

ted sacrifice to God? These are your words. * Such a sorrow
indeed of a broken and contrite heart is the only true and perfectly
accepted sacrifice to God, and is in effect nothing but what we af-
firme. You affirme that Christ died the death of the soule,
which you interpret to bee such y paines and sufferings of Gods
wrath, as alwaies accompany them that are separated from the
grace and loue of God: You affirme that Christ suffered wou-
derfull and piteous astonishment, forgetfulnesse and confusion of
the powers of nature, even of all the powers of his soule and sen-
ses of his bodie, yea he felt the verie dinels as the instruments,
that wrought the verie effectes of Gods wrath vpon him; and
though the wicked oftentimes find farre more intolerable hor-
ror of their sinnes then any other, yet you doubt not, but
Christ as touching the vehemencie of paine, was as sharply tou-
ched

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ched euen as the Reprobate themselves, yea, if it may be, more extraordinaryly. All this you affirme, and by your owne words, all this is the ONLY TRVE, and perfectly accepted sacrifice to God. So then whosoever feeleth not all this, hath no broken nor contrite heart, nor ante longer then hee feeleth these hel-lish toiments in his soule. And if this be the ONLY TRVE sacrifice to God, I will not aske what shall become of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but howe unhappie are the godlie that at ante time are free from the paines of the damned, and from the toimentes of hell, since the suffering thereof is the ONLY TRVE and perfectlie accepted sacrifice to God? Godly sorrow, saith the Apostle, causeth repentance vnto saluation; those wordes please you not; such hellish sorrowes, and intolerable horrors as the Reprobate themselves fee, yea as the damned doe suffer, this saie you is the ONLY TRVE and accepted sacrifice to God. You must haue other sacrifices, and those accepted, before you come to heauen; or else the Reprobate and damned will bee there as soone as you: God send you his grace, and grant your wits and senses bee not dis tempered and distracted; you talke so much of hellish paines, and toiments executed by diuels, as the only true sacrifice of a broken and contrite hart.

2. Corin. 7

Page 43 in
margine.

The Apostles wordes, whereon you first grounded this odious assertion, haue no such intention, as you imagine. By death Christ conquered him that had power of death that is the Diuel. Aske the simplest childe y is catechised in your charge, if you haue ante, what death Christ died for vs, and hee will answere you out of his Credo, Christ was crucified, deade, and buried; and that is the death which the Scriptures describe and deliuer. I deliuered vnto you (saith Paul) that which I receiued, how that Christ died for our sinnes, according to the scriptures; what death if wee aske the Apostle, he will answere the death of the Crosse. For we preach (saith he) Christ crucified; and I esteemed not to know any thing among you but Christ Iesus and him crucified. Christ crucified then,

1. Corin. 15.

1. Cor. 1

1. Cor. 3.

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that is by his death on the crosse, destroyed him that had power of death. [Of what death, you aske, hath the diuell power?] as well of the second death which Christ could not suffer; as of the first which hee did suffer. [Christ, you will saie, could deliuer vs from no death, but from the verie same which he suffered himselfe.] If so you saie, or so would saie, it is no lesse then heresie, or blasphemie. Hee deliuered vs from euermlasting death, which hee neither did, nor could suffer. If you saie hee deliuered vs not from euermlasting death, it is open heresie; if you saie Christ suffered euermlasting death, it is blasphemie. Yet hath the diuell power of both deaths, as well temporal as eternall. What power, you aske, hath the diuell of this death which our bodie dies? ¹ God made not that death, but by the ¹ enuy of the Diuell it came into the world. He was the first procurer of it by perswading sinne, and still reioiceth in it as the verie gate to hel. ^m I shal goe, (saith Ezechiah) to the gate of hell, which was the death of his bodie; that waile the wicked passe to hell. Yea the Apostle calleth the corruption of our bodie the sting of sinne; ⁿ wherewith the diuell pearced vs; ⁿ when this corruption hath put on incorruption, ^o death where is thy sting?

[If or the exposition of the Apostles words, I may either say with ^o S. Austen, *Ipse Dominus mori voluit, ut, quemadmodum de illo scriptum est, per mortem euacuaret eum qui potestas habebat mortis, id est Diabolum, & liberaret eos qui timore mortis per totam vitam rei erant seruitutis. Hoc Testimonio satis illud monstratur, & mortem istam corporis principe atque auctore Diabolo, hoc est ex peccato accidisse, quod ille persuasit. Neque enim ob aliud potestatem habere mortis verissime diceretur.* The Lord himselfe would die, that as it is written of him, by death he might destroye him that had power of death, euen the diuell, and deliuer them which for feare of death were all their life long subiect to seruitude. By this testimonie it is sufficientlie prooued that this verie death of our bodie came from the Diuell as the Authour and chiefe dooer thereof; that is from the sinne which hee perswaded

¹ Sapient. 1.

² Sapi. 2.

^o Esa. 38

^o 1. Corin. 15.

^o August. de pecc. merit. & remiss. li. 2. c. 32

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swaded. He cannot for any other cause be said to haue power of death, which here is most truly spoken. Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Cyril referre death throughout that sentence to the death of the bodie: In these wordes (saie they) the Apostle [¶] noteth an admirable thing, that whereby the diuel had power, thereby was he ouerthrowne. The weapons which were his strength against the world, that is death, by y^e Christ strooke him. Why terrible ye? why feare ye death? now death is not terrible, but acceptable as the end of labor and the beginning of rest. [¶] Chrysostom hath almost the same wordes. Cyrill verie often expoundeth death in that place for the death of Christs bodie. [¶] The sonne of God was partaker of flesh and bloud, that yeelding his BODY to death, he by nature as God being life it selfe, might quicken it againe: otherwise how had hee abolished the imperie of death, vnlesse he had raised againe his dead BODY. And againe; [¶] Because it was aboue mans nature to abolish death, yea rather it was subdued of death, the son of God, that is life, took vnto him mans nature subiect to death, y^e death as a cruell beast invading his flesh should cease fro his tyranny ouer vs, that should thereby be abolished. If by death in the second place we understand the death of body and soule with Fulgentius, I am not against it, this being alwaies remembred, that Christ died no death but the death of the bodie. *Mors filij Dei, quam SOLA CARNE suscepit utramq; in nobis morte, anima scilicet carnisq; destruxit.* The death which the sonne of God suffered ONLY in his flesh, destroied BOTH DEATHS in vs, as well that of the soule, as that of the body.

The Confuter hauing bestirred himselfe in his special and choise arguments, as thou hast heard (christian reader) & now drawing to an ende, purposeth like a politicke captaine so to entrench himself, that no force shal fetch him out of his hold. And because wordes are the weapons that can endanger him; he taketh the readie waie with them, to turne & wind them at his will, and so maketh any thing to be enerie thing; that nothing should hurt him. The scriptures affirme, that

Christ

[¶] Ambros. in
Hebre. ca. 2

[¶] Chrysost. in
Hebre. ca. 2
[¶] Cyril de recta
fide. lib. 1. ex
Hebr. ca. 2

[¶] Idem de recta
fide lib. 2.

[¶] Fulgent de
incarnat. &
grat. christi. c. 8.

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Christ crucified is the wisdom and power of God to all that be called, and that we are^a reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, and our sinnes redeemed, and the⁷ diuel destroyed by the death of Christ Jesus; as also that hee⁷ suffered for vs in the flesh, yea he² suffered for our sinnes being put to death in the flesh. And least it should hence bee collected, that Christ died not by death of the soule; but rather the death of his bodie was a sufficient price for the life of the worlde; the Refuter undertaketh this place of Saint Peter, that Christ was² done to death in the flesh, and thence will proue, that the flesh comprehendeth bodie and soule, and that the soule of Christ^b DIED and was crucified as well as the bodie. Reason o; authority besides his owne he bringeth none, but out of the hinder part of his head he giueth an obseruation, which, if he saie the worde, must needs proue sounde and good; and this it is.

^c Whensoever in scripture the flesh and the spirit are opposed together, the^d flesh is alwaies Christs whole humanitie, as well as his soule as his bodie. From whence it followeth that Christs soule also died and was crucified. How proue you this note, (Sir Refuter?) had you saide that wheresoever the flesh of Christ liuing is spoken of, there the flesh of a man endued with a humane soule is intended; you had saide well: for Christ was perfect man and perfect God, in one and the same person: but when you will stretch all the attributes of the bodie, and make them common to the soule, because Christ had a soule as well as a bodie, it is no true obseruation deriued from the scripture, but a partiall supposition intended to further your hellish sorowes. In the 26. of Matthew, when Christ telleth his disciples^e that the spirit is readie, but the flesh weake, both hee take spirit there for the godhead, as if that were readie to suffer any thing, or for the soule which was willing, but that the flesh was weake: In the 24. of Luke when Christ saith, ^f a spirit hath not flesh and bones as you see me haue, had his soule flesh and bones, and those to be seene as his bodie had: To the Romanes when Paul saith,

Christ

^a Rom. 5.

² Hebre. 2.

⁷ 1. Peter. 4.

² 1. Peter. 3.

² 1. Peter. 3.

^b Pag. 79

^c Pag. 78

^d Pag. 79

^e Matth. 26.

^f Luc. 24

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Christ our Lord was made of the seede of *Dauid* according to the flesh, and declared to be the sonne of God, touching the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the deade; will you conclude that Christs soule was made of the seede of

^s Rom. 1.

Dauid and came from Dauids loines as Christs flesh did? The like he repeateth in the same Epistle: ^h of the Israelites

came Christ according to the flesh, which is God ouer all to be blessed for euer; where if your obseruation faile not, Christs soule must be kinne to the Iewes as well as his flesh. While then, when Peter saith, ⁱ Christ was put to death according to the flesh, but quickned by the spirit, doe you make it so cleere

^h Rom. 9

a case that the worde flesh there compriseth both bodie and soule; and therefore by Peters confession, Christ died in soule as well as in bodie? so when Paul saith; ^k Christ was crucified through infirmities, yet liueth through the power of God,

ⁱ 1. Pet. 3

what leaue you to imagine, that his soule was crucified as well as his bodie? who did crucifie him I praye you, God or the Iewes? Peter saith to the Iewes, ⁱ Iesus of Nazareth, a man approoued of God, after you had taken with wicked hands, you haue CRUCIFIED and slaine. So againe, ^m the

^k 2. Corin. 13

holy and iust one ye denied, and killed the Lord of life. And likewise. ⁿ By the name of Iesus, whom ye haue crucified, whom

ⁱ Act. 1.

^m Act. 3.

ⁿ Act. 4

God raised againe from the deade, doth this man heere stande whole, who before was a creeple. If the Iewes then crucified and killed the Lorde Iesus, coulde they crucifie and kill his soule? Are you so simple that you remember not the wordes of our Saviour, ^o Feare not them which kill the bodie, but are not able to kill the soule? And you make it not an oversight; but a positive point of your holie truth, as you call it, that Christs soule was crucified and died; and consequently that the Iewes directlie against the wordes of Christ were able to kill and crucifie the soule of Christ.

^o Matt. 10

Will you saie that God crucified the soule of Christ, for what will you not saie, that say Christs soule was crucified & died? in what scripture shall wee reade that God crucified

It 1.

the

the soule, as the Jewes did the bodie of Christ: you would seeme to conclude it out of the scriptures, which whensoever they speake of Christ crucified, they note the shamefull and cruel death which the Jewes executed on him, not ante thing that God did unto him. And out of that word, euery where in the scriptures referred to the Jewes, to inferre that God also crucified his soule, is as much madnesse as the former. If you feare not the paines of hell, because you are so well acquainted with them, feare at least the shame of the worlde, least they deride you to skorne, as lacking that common vnderstanding which boies in the streetes, and prentices in the shoppes haue. But what if your selfe, being be like amazed, and (as you saie of Christ) all confounded in all the powers of your soule, and senses of your bodie, when you wote in defence of your holie cause, do contradict your selfe, and call your owne assertion **ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE**, and that not ten or twelue leaues off, but in the verie same place where you labour to iustifie this position, and prouing and pronouncing it to be absurd and most false, you presently conclude it as a principle of your newe faith? well, if it bee not so, then I must confesse I was a sheepe when I thought you did so. But if it fall out to be true which I saie, I hope (christian Reader) thou wilt thinke my time and waite better imployed then longer to reason with such a braine sicke habler.

• 1. Pet. 3. ver.
18.

The words of Peter are; ° Christ hath once suffered for sinnes, the iust for the vniust, and was put to death in the flesh, but quickned by the spirit. Saint Austen writing vpon this place obserueth this for a sure rule to expounde the whole.

• Aug. epist. 99 *P In eare quippe viuificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus:* Christ was quickned in that verie part, wherein hee suffered death, or was put to death. This rule hath in it a mightie truth that maie not be resisted. For if any part of Christ died, which was not againe quickned, but still left dead, then that parte suffered perpetuall death; which is not onelie
plaine

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plainlie false but openlie blasphemous. Then must this stande for an vndoubted ground; that whatsoeuer part of Christ was dead, the same must be quickned againe, to auoid the eternall death of anie part. And if anie part of Christ needed not quickning or restoring to life, it neuer died; for quickning is heere the restoring of life to that which was dead, and not the giuing of life to that which had none before. Then if Christs soule died, offorce it must either be quickned againe, or kept vnder eternal death; but to saie that Christs soule was quickned or made alieue is ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE: Ergo to saie that Christs soule died is ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE. You will aske me howe I proue the Minor or second parte of this Argument? If Saint Austen did not helpe me to proue it, the Confuter will. Doe (Sir Refuter,) your own words in the very same place, take care I prate you, that I misrepeat them not, for if I hit the right, you will proue your selfe as verie a baby as euer suckt a bottle. BOTH THESE, saie you, ARE ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE, „ that Christ was made alieue either in his HVMANE SOVLE, „ OR BY THE SAME. See and shame, if there be anie grace, „ or sence in you, that going about purposelie to proue that Christs soule died and was crucified, you set this for a pface vnto it, it is ABSVRD and most FALSE that Christ „ was made alieue in his humane soule; which without any shift or colour, you do saie & must saie, before your conclusion can be true; except you wil lye to this, that Christs soule died in deede, but was neuer restored to life, or made alieue againe; which if wee come to, I must proclaime you no longer foolish but blasphemous. Notwith I hope you will rather see your follie, then fall to this frensie; for my part, I wish you better counsell and more reading; and although you tell me of errors, „ corrupt fancies and vayne imaginations, „ shamefull questiōs, „ toyish fables, „ fond, absurd, without sence or reason, „ when I doe but repeat the iudgements of the ancient and learned Fathers; yet I will heare them at

At 2.

your

1 Page. 78
line. 25.

1 Page. 1.
1 Page. 3.
1 Page. 54.
1 Page. 81.
1 Page. 68.

your hand, and from my heart doe pittie your ignorance, for I hope it bee but ignorance; howsoever you take vpon you to controule all as fond and absurde, that yeelde not to your humour.

For the cleering of this place of Peter, wherein the Confuter hath so much ouerseene himselfe, I stand not vpon the advantage of his wordes, but vpon the sounde and learned exposition of Saint Austen, whose antiquitie and authoritie concurring with the truth of the scriptures both please me, & I trust (Christian reader) wil content thee. *Christus spiritu uiuificatus est, cū in passione esset carne mortificatus. Quid est enim, quod uiuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem Caro, qua sola fuerat mortificatus uiuificante spiritu surrexit? Num quod anima fuerat mortificatus Iesus, hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere, cum mors anima non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit? Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis, secundum naturam ceterarum, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita est, quibus duabus causis mors anima intelligi potest; & ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit Christum uiuificatus spiritu. In ea re quippe uiuificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus; ergo de carne dictum est. Ipsa enim reuixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua anima recedente. Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundū solam carnē mortuus est, uiuificatus autem spiritu quia spiritu operante, etiā ipsa caro uiuificata surrexit.* Christ was quickned by the spirit, when in his Passion he was put to death in his flesh. What meaneth it, that he was quickned by the spirit, but that the same flesh, in VVHICH ONLY HE DIED, rose againe by the quickning of the spirit? For that Iesus DIED IN SOVLE, I meane in his humane spirit, VVHO DARE AFFIRME IT, where as the death of the soule is nothing (in this life) but sinne, from which he was wholie free? Surelie the soule of Christ was not onlie immortal by nature, as others are, but neither died by sinne nor was punished by any damnation, which are the two waies how

'Aug. epist. 99

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how the soule maie possiblie die. And therefore Christ could not bee said to bee quickned in soule by the spirite: for in that part was hee quickned, in which hee died. Therefore it was spoken (by Peter) of Christs flesh. That reuiued when the soule returned, because that died, when the soule departed. Christ then is sayd to bee done to death in his flesh, for that hee died **ONLY IN HIS FLESH**, and to be quickned by the spirite, because that verie flesh rose againe being quickned by the working of the spirite. These learned and sound conclusions of S. Austen, are verie repugnant to your weake and false obseruations, Sy^r Refuter. Christ died in the flesh (saith Peter) that is saith Austen, in **THE FLESH ONLY**; for the soule of Christ died not, since the death of the soule is either sinne in this life, or damnation in the next, both which were farre from Christ. You tell vs that Christs soule not onlie died, but was also crucified; and all the p^rose you bring for it, besides Terence, is that Peter saith Christ died in the flesh. Now the flesh saie you, signifieth as well the soule as the bodie, and so Christ died in both: but such p^roofes, if you vse them often, will p^roue you to haue a great deale lesse religion and learning, then you would seeme to haue.

What death the Scriptures affirme Christ died for vs, if you bee now to seeke at these peares, it is pittie your shoulders haue beene so long troubled with your head. Can there bee fuller, or plainer words then those which the foure Euangelists vse in describing the death, burfall, and resurrection of the bodie of our Saviour? Shew but one such word in Scripture or father, that Christs soule died at the time of his Passion, and take the cause. [He layd downe his soule vnto death, you will saie;] You should haue done well in your pamphlette at least to haue laid that downe for a shewe, and not vpon your single word to haue vouched so weightie a matter as the death of Christs soule is; but you must be bozne with, your wits are of ten not at home. What is ment by this that Christ laid downe or yelded his Soule

It. 3.

vnto

Esa. 53.

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^a Auguft. tract.
47 in Iohan.

unto death, S. Austen largelie disputeth in his 47 treatise
vppon S. Iohns Gospell. The effect is, when Christ laid
downe his soule unto death, his bodie died, and not his
soule. ^a *Quid fecit Passio, quid fecit mors, nisi corpus ab anima
separauit? Si enim mortuus est dominus, imino quia mortuus est
Dominus (mortuus est enim pro nobis in cruce) sine dubio caro
ipsius expirauit animam. Hoc est ergo ponere animam, quod est
mori. Cum ergo exit anima a carne, et remanet caro sine ani-
ma, tunc homo ponere animam dicitur. Carni hoc tribue, caro
ponit animam suam, & caro iterum sumit eam. Caro ponit a-
nimam suam expirando. Ipse Dominus Christus dictus est sola
caro. Audeo dicere, et sola caro Christi dictus est Christus. Con-
fiteris illud quod habet fides, in eum Christum te credere, qui crui-
cifixus est & sepultus. Ergo sepultum Christum esse non negas,
& tamen sola caro sepulta est. Ergo Christus erat etiam caro
sine anima, quia non est sepulta nisi caro. Disce hoc etiam in
Apostolicis verbis, Humiliauit semetipsum factus obediens
vsque ad mortem. Iam in morte SOLA CARO a Iudais est
occisa, & tamen carne occisa Christus occisus est. Ita cum caro
animam posuit, Christus animam posuit, & cum caro ut resur-
geret animam sumpsit, Christus animam sumpsit. What did the
Passion, what did the death of Christ, but separate his bodie
from his soule? If the Lord died for vs, yea rather because in-
deede the Lord did die for vs; (for hee died for vs on the crosse,)
doubtlesse his flesh did breath out his soule. Soe that to laie
downe his soule and to die is all one. When the soule departeth
from the flesh, & the flesh remaineth without any soule, then a
man is said to lay downe his soule. Vnderstand this of the flesh.
for the flesh laieth down her soule, & taketh it againe, the flesh
laieth down her soule by breathing it forth. The Lord Iesus is
called his flesh alone. I dare be bold to auouch it, THE ON-
LY FLESH of Christ is called Christ. Thou confessest, as it is in
thy Creede, that thou beleeuest in that Christ, which was cru-
cified & buried. Then thou acknowledgest Christ to be buried,
& yet only his flesh was buried. Therefore flesh without a soule
was*

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was Christ, because nothing of him but his flesh was buried. Leame the selfe same in the Apostles words, Christ humbled himselfe & was obedient vnto Death. Now in his death ONLY HIS flesh was killed of the Iewes, and yet the flesh being slaine, Christ was slaine. So when the flesh laid downe her soule, Christ laid downe his soule, and when the flesh tooke her soule againe to rise, Christ tooke his soule againe. No men that do not willfully blind themselves these words are cleare enough, and they haue for their warrant the full consent of Scriptures, Councils, & Fathers, for 1400 yeares, without dissenting from it. ^b Christ suffered for you, (saith Peter) leaving you an ensample that you should follow his steppes, who himselfe bare our sinnes in his bodie on the Tree, that we being dead to sinne, should liue in righteousness. Then when Christ died to sin, his body died on the tree, his soul liued in righteousness: So must we do, for so did he, when he left vs an example how to follow his steppes. Our soules must not die before we can resemble his death; they must liue in righteousness as he did. ^c Euery where (saith Paul) we beare about in our bodies the dying of the Lord Iesus, that the life of Iesus might also be made manifest in our bodies; which he thus expoundeth afterward. Therefore we faint not, but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is daily renewed. Then in our bodies we carrie about the death of Christ, who for our example died in his bodie vnto sinne, that we should follow his steppes. And why doubt we hereof, since the same apostle doth in as plain & expresse words, as might be spoken, testify, that Christ, when we were enemies, reconciled vs IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH THROUGH DEATH; to make vs holy, and without fault in his sight, grounded and stablished in faith, and not mooued awaie from the hope of the Gospell? What could the hart of Paul inuent, or his tongue vtter more effectually then this, that Christ THROUGH DEATH IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH reconciled vs to God and maketh vs

^b 1 Pet. 2

^c 2 Cor. 4

^d Ibid. vers. 16

^e Colos. 2

holie,

holie, and without fault in his sight? If you can quarrell with these words (Sir Refuter) you may do what you will with the Scriptures. No words will bind you, that take bodie for soule, life for death, faith for amazed feare, hope for intolerable horror, descending for ascending, and hell for heaven. What is this els but to make a confusion of all Religion, and giue open defiance to the truth by taking one contrarie for the other? You do not so, you will saie. Leave so doing and these Questions will soone be determined. I proue there was alwaies in Christ euidence of faith, assurance of hope, Ioy of loue even in the midst of his paines on the

- ^t Pag. 7. "crosse: and you graunt there was ^t not anie the least diminution in Christ of his faith, patience or obedience to God, neither was Christ so much as touched with anie waivering, much lesse fearing in his trust and confidence of Gods loue and
- ^t Pag. 77 "protection towards him. How then can the ^t horrour of Gods "seuere iustice and wrath, like them that indeed be separated from the grace and loue of God, bee in Christ? Or how can the sorrowes of the damned which are separated from the life of God bee found in Christ? how could Christ suffer ^t the same
- ^t pag. 46. "terrors of Gods wrath and assaults of the Deuill, yea far greater then the godlie feele in their consciences, for want of faith, and feare of Gods displeasure? What are these but plaine contrarieties? Again in Christ, you saie, ^t was no defect of
- ^t pag. 57 "grace; how then could the soule of Christ replenished with the spirite of life, and liuing in all fulnes of grace and truth, bee dead? can you make one and the same part of Christ both aline and dead? Soe likewise if Christ had but ^t feared
- ^t pag. 64 "to bee utterly forsaken with the hatred of his Father, that indeed
- ^t Pag. 49. "you saie were desperation, which God forbid. And yet you doe
- ^t Pag. 70 "not doubt but Christ was as ^t deepe lie touched with the ^m vn-
- ^t Pag. 80. "speakeable horror of Gods ⁿ seuere wrath due to sinne as the ^o
- ^t Pag. 81 "Reprobates themselves. A number of these hogepots you haue made vs; speaking of things which your selfe cannot, or dare not expresse. Sometimes you would saie affirme it

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it in generall words, and when you come to particulars, you renounce it againe. In the vertie case that gaue vs occasion of this rehearfall, when the Apostle saith, we are ^{1 Rom. 5.} reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, and explaining himselfe, saith the death that reconciled vs to God, was the death which Christ suffered ^{1 Col. 5.} in the bodie of his flesh; Is it not as cleare as daie light, that the bodilie death of Christ, which he suffered on the crosse, is by the scriptures resolved to bee the sufficient price of our redemption, and meane of our reconciliation to God, except you take the bodie of Christ for the soule of Christ, and the stripes and woundes of his flesh for the paines of hell? ^{1 I. Pet. 1.} Yee were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, saith Peter. Can there bee plainer wordes, that Christes ^{1 Mat. 16.} blood shedde for the remission of our sinnes is the perfect price of our redemption, without the death of the soule, or paines of hell, which you interpose? So likewise, when Peter saith ^{1 I. Pet. 2.} Christ bare our sinnes in his bodie on the Tree, in that hee ^{1 I. Pet. 3.} suffered once for sinners when hee was put to death in his flesh; are you not forced to peruert these wordes for defence of your fancie, and to take the flesh for bodie and soule, that you maie make the death of Christe to bee common to both? [It is one thing, you will saie, to take the flesh for the whole man, and another to take the bodie for the soule.] I knowe it right well, but the one will not serue your turne without the other. By a part to name or note the whole man, is no newes in the Scriptures; but to ascribe the attributes of one part to the other, because the name of either part is sometimes taken for the whole, that is a generall subverting of all the truth of the Scriptures. Saint Austen tolde you even now, that Christes dead flesh is called Christ; will you therefore referre the properties of Christes dead flesh vnto his soule, and not thinke you take the wate to dissolue as well the vnion as communion of two natures in Christ,

and of the distinction of two parts in his manhood? The body indeede is more distinguished from the soule, then the name of flesh is, because the viregenerate part of the soule is in the Scriptures euerie where called flesh; but this hath no place in Christ, by reason no corruption of sinne cleaued vnto his soule, and therefore the name of flesh doeth no where signifie the soule in Christ, as it doeth often in vs; onelike by naming flesh in Christ, the scripture sometimes intendeth, that he disdained not the weakest and basest part of our nature, when he came to redēme vs. And so Saint Iohn saith, * The worde was made flesh, meaning the true and eternall sonne of God, vouchsafed to take not onelike our reasonable and humane soule vnto him, but euen our bilde and mortall flesh into the vnitie of his person, and so became man, that hee might restore man nowe fallen from God, and perished in his sinnes, to the fauour and life of God againe. But when the Scriptures saie, that Christ died for our sinnes, the auncient fathers and Councels with one consent applie that to the death of Christes bodie on the Crosse, and not to the death of the soule, or to anie paines of hell. And though in the Treatise before I haue cited such as sufficientlie witnesseth that doctrine to be sounde and Catholike, yet will I not bee greened to let thee see (Christian Reader) that there was nothing more commonlie, nor constantlie professed in the Primitive Church, then the doctrine which I am now forced to defende against the rage and reproch of this flaunders impugner.

* Iohn. i.

† Achanasius
de incarnat.
verbi dei.

‡ Post edita per facta diuinitatis suae monumenta, reliquum iam erat, ut pro omnibus sacrificium offerret, pro omnibus templum suum morti tradens, quo omnes innoxios & liberos à veteris prauaricatione efficeret, seque declararet mortis victorem. Corpus igitur quod communem cum omnibus habebat naturam (corpus enim humanum & mortale erat) ad similitudinem sui generis mortem excepit; verbum enim quoniam mori non potuit, utpote immortalis

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immortale, corpus sibi sumpsit, quod mori poterat; illudque ut suū pro omnibus obtulit, ut ita pro omnibus, omnibus ipse corpore coniunctus, mortem patiens, compefceret eum, qui mortis habebat imperium, hoc est Diabolum, & liberaret eos quos quot for- midine mortis per omnem vitam obnoxij erant seruituti. Af-

ter Christ by his deedes had declared his diuinitie, it remain-
ned that hee shoulde OFFER A SACRIFICE FOR ALL,
yeelding vnto death the temple (of his bodie) for all, there-
by to deliuer and discharge all from the olde transgression, and
to declare himselfe the conquerour of death. His bodie there-
fore, which in nature was like all ours (for it was an humane and
mortall bodie) died in like maner as bodies doe. For the sonne
of God, because he could not die being immortall, tooke a bo-
die vnto him that might die, and offered that as his owne for all
men, that so being ioined in bodie to all, and suffering death for
all, he might repress him that had power of death, euen the
Diuell, and free those, that for feare of death were all their life
long subiected to seruitude. Epiphanius treadeth in the same

steppes. When the sonne of God (saith he) would suffer of his
owne good will for mankinde, because his diuinitie could not
suffer, beeing of it selfe impassible, hee tooke ἡμετέρον πα-
θόντων σαμα, OVR BODIE THAT MIGHT SVFFER,
that therein hee might yeelde to suffer, and admitted our suffe-
rings, his Godhead being present in his flesh, the godhead suf-
fereth not. For he that saith I am life, how can he die? But God
remaining impassible συμπάσχει τῇ σαρκί, suffereth by his
flesh, that his passion may be accounted to his deitie, though
it suffered not to the ende our saluation shoulde bee from God.
In his flesh was the suffering, least wee should haue a passible
God. Which indeede is impassible, imputing that suffering vn-
to himselfe, according to his free choise, and not of anie neces-
sitie. Ambrose in like sort. ^a Laqueus contritus est, & nos libe-

rati sumus. Non potuit melius conteri laqueus nisi pradam ali-
quam diabolo demonstrasset, ut dum ille festinaret ad pradam, suis
laqueis ligaretur. Quae potuit esse prada nisi corpus? Oportuit igitur

^a Epipha. ha-
rel. 69.

^a Ambros. in
Lucam. lib. 4
de duct. Chri-
sti in desertum

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ut hoc fraudem Diabolo fieri, ut susceperet corpus dominus Iesus & corpus hoc corruptibile. corpus infirmum, ut crucigeretur ex infirmitate. Si enim fuisset corpus spirituale, non dixisset, spiritus promptus est, caro autem infirma. The snare is broken, and we are deliuered. The snare could not bee better broken, then by shewing the diuel some pray, that whiles he hastned to the pray, he might be wrapped in his owne snares. What pray could there be beside the bodie (of man?) It was therefore requisite the diuell should bee thus deceiued, that the Lord Iesus should take a body vnto him, euen this corruptible & weake body of ours, that he might be crucified through infirmitie. Had it beene a spiritual bodie that he tooke, he would neuer haue said, the spirite is ready, but the flesh is weake.^a The same Christ suffered, and suffered not; died and died not, rose againe and did not rise; because hee raised vp his owne bodie. For that which fell, that rose againe; that which fell not needed not rise. Hee rose then according to the flesh, which being dead did rise againe. Ergo also he died in our nature which he tooke vnto him, and suffered in the body which he tooke, that we might beleue he tooke a true bodie. **To the vnbeleuer asking,** Shall I beleue God in flesh, God borne of a woman, God crucified, whipped, dead, wounded, buried?^b Austen answereth, thy God remaineth vnchangeable; feare not, he perisheth not. Christ was borne of a woman, but in his flesh. Hee was an infant, but in his flesh. Hee sucked, increased, was nourished, and grewe in age, but in his flesh. Wearied he slept but in his flesh. Hee hungred and thirsted, but in his flesh. He was taken, bound, whipped & mocked: yea he was CRUCIFIED AND KILLED, BUT IN HIS FLESH. Why art thou afraid? The word which was God remaineth for euer. He that despiseth this humblenes of God wil neuer be cured from the deadly swelling of pride. The Lord Iesus therefore by his flesh gaue hope to our flesh. To be borne, and to die were here on earth common, to liue for euer was not here. Christ found here our earthlie wares, which were vilde, and brought with him his heauenlie, which were strange. If thou

^a Idē de incarn. sacrament. ca. 5

^b August. de verbis domini secundum Iohannem, serm 42.

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thou feare (his) death, loue (his) resurrection. • He came to the place of our pilgrimage to take that which aboundeth here, eue ^{• August in psal 148.}

mocks, whippes, blowes, spittings in his face, reproches, hanging, the crosse and death. These things abound in our region, to this entertainment hee came. What hath he giuen thee here? Instruction, exhortation, and remission of sinnes. What hath he promised thee O mortall man? that thou shalt liue for euer. Doeſt thou not belecue it? Belecue it, I say, belecue it. It is more that he hath already done, then that hee hath promised. It is more incredible, that the eternall died, then that the mortall shall liue for euer. If God died for man, shall not man liue with God? But can God die? Hee tooke from thee wherein to die for thee.

THERE COULD NOT DIE BUT FLESH, THERE COULD NOT DIE BUT A MORTALL BODIE. Hee clothed himselfe with that wherein hee might die for thee; hee will clothe thee, wherein thou shalt liue with him. ^dIn that (part)

Christ died, in which thou shalt die: in that (part) Christ rose in which thou shalt rise. Thou wilt pardon mee (Christian Reader) if among so much lothsome stufſe of reprobate horrors, damned paines, and hellish torments, as this Confuter hath heaped together, I place my selfe sometimes with the longer comfort of sounde and sweete doctrine, so sincerelie and sensiblie deliuered by the learned and auncient Fathers. I will alledge one place more where in thou shalt see the full consent of prouinciall and generall Councils, not to bee gaineſaide by any man that will beare the name of a Christian, and so shutte by this point.

Cyrril writing to Nestorius, to stay and suppress that false doctrine which hee beganne then to spreade; teacheth vs verie plainelie howe the sonne of God is saide in the Scriptures to SUFFER, DIE, AND RISE AGAINE for vs, and our saluation. • So wee saie (the sonne of God) suffered and rose againe; not that the sonne of GOD suffered in his owne nature, either the stripes, or the boaring of

^dIdem in ps. 70

[•]Cyrril epist. 8
ad Nestorium.

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the nailes, or the rest of the woundes, ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι
 καὶ σώματόν, the Deitie coulde not suffer by reason it is no
 bodilie substance; but because THAT BODIE, which hee
 made his owne, suffered these things, himselfe is saide to suffer
 these things for vs. ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀπαθὲς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι,
 He that coulde not suffer was then in his bodie which suffe-
 red. After the same manner wee thinke of his dying. The
 sonne of God is by nature immortall, incorruptible, life and the
 giuer of life; but because the bodie, which was his owne, ta-
 sted death for all by the fauour of God, as *Paule* speaketh,
 hee himselfe is saide to haue suffered death for vs, not that hee
 had experience of death as touching his owne nature, (it
 were a madnesse so to thinke, or say) but for that as I saide e-
 uen now, his flesh tasted death: So his flesh rising againe,
 it is called his Resurrection, not that hee fell to corruption,
 God forbidde; but that his bodie rose againe. When this
 stayed not the frenzie of Nestorius the heretike, but that
 hee replied in swelling wordes, Cyrill called a Coun-
 cell at Alexandria, and there with one consent, they ap-
 prooued the trueth, and sent it vnto Nestorius to bee con-
 fessed in these wordes amongst others; If anie man doe
 not confesse that the Sonne of GOD suffered in his flesh,
 was crucified in his flesh, and tasted death in his flesh, let
 him bee accursed. Dilating this and the rest of their Ar-
 ticles in their Synodall Epistle sent to Nestorius, they
 saie, & Wee confesse that the onelie begotten God, euen the
 sonne borne of God his father, though hee were impasible in
 his owne nature, yet suffered hee in his flesh for vs accor-
 ding to the Scriptures; καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ σωρωθέντι σώματι, τὰ
 τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ἀπαθὲς ὁμοεισπλιος πάθη; and was in his
 bodie that was crucified, accounting the sufferings of his owne
 flesh as proper vnto him, though he were without suffering; and
 by the grace of God tasted death for all, διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἰδίου
 σώματος, when he gaue his owne bodie vnto death. This doctrine
 came to bee scanned in the third generall Councell helde at
 Ephesus,

† Synodi Alex-
 and. anathe-
 matismus. 12.

† Epistola Sy-
 nodi Alex-
 andrinæ ad
 Nestorium in-
 ter Cyrilepist.
 10.

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^hEphesus, and being there deliberatelic read, was worde for
worde allowed of the whole Councell, as agréable to the ^hEphesin. con-
Scriptures and the Nicene fathers. The like approbation it cil. u. Sess. 1.
had, not onelie in the Councell of Constantinople vnder Flu-
uianus, but in the great councell of Chalcedon, where the pro-
ceedings of both these Councels were a fresh examined, ⁴Concil. Chal-
and the former wordes of Cyrill repeated and confirmed, cedon. act. 1.
with the full consent of that general Councel, as most sound
and catholike.

So that he shall ill deserue the name of a christian, that
after so many fathers, and Councels, both Provinciall and
Generall, will begin to teach vs a new faith, and tell vs that
the Scriptures meane Christ was crucified and died, as wel
in his soule, as in his bodie; since the whole Church with one
assent hath euer so conceived and expounded the Scrip-
tures, that Christs crucifying and dying must bee refer-
red to his bodie; and consequentlie that the ioynt sufferings
of Christ (the soule feeling what the bodie suffered) were
most available for our redemption. For when they as-
cribe the crucifying and death of Christ to his bodie;
they doe not exclude the soule from the sense and feeling
of the paine, which is a naturall consequent to the con-
iunction with her bodie, but they shew what part of Christs
manhoode suffered the crosse and death; that the Scrip-
tures so much speake of, and whereby wee are redee-
med and reconciled vnto GOD. One place repeated
in the Councell of Ephesus, maye serue in steede of manye,
to declare their meaning. * Howe can the Creator of all
things, who is neither visible, palpable, nor mutable, sustaine
the Crosse and death? Wee saie the sonne of God sustained
the Crosse and death in his owne flesh, that hee might deli-
uer vs from death and corruption. Hee laide downe his soule
for vs, not as an alien and strainger to the sonne of God, but
vnspeakeable vnto him, as himselfe saith; I haue power
to lay downe my soule, and I haue power to take it againe.

ΤΑΥΤΗΣ

* Interrogatio
& respō. in cō-
cil. Ephesino
proposita.

τάτης ἰδίον τὸ ἀδύνατον, τὸ λύπην ὑπομένειν, ἢ ἐκδιμῆν ἀπὸ
 τῆς σαρκὸς, ὡς καὶ σαρκὸς ἢ κοπιᾶν, ἢ σταυρῶσθαι, τὸ ἀνίστα-
 σθαι. It is proper to the soule to bee pensive, to feele paine and
 griefe, to depart from the bodie; as it is proper to the flesh to be
 wearied, to be crucified, to be raised againe. So the violence
 was offered to the bodie, the sense whereof reached vnto the
 soule; and these are the sufferings of the crosse, and of death,
 which the Scriptures attribute to the sonne of God for our
 saluation; Inasmuch that your long discourse of the proper
 and immediate suffering of Christs soule for sinne with-
 out and besides the bodie, maie be hanged on the hedge, as
 discording both from the scriptures, and all the Catholike fa-
 thers, that either haue priuatelie testified the truth by their
 writings, or publiklie confirmed it by their assemblies. And
 as for your hellish paines, when your selfe can tell what they
 are, and make some better profe, then yet you haue done,
 that they were, or might be in the soule of Christ, you shal re-
 ceive further answer.

These are the Refuters exquisite arguments, which he cal-
 leth his speciall reasons, being indeede rather so many mon-
 sters in Christian Religion, then matters to perswade a
 nie man were he neuer so simple, and but that a straunge
 faith muste needes haue such straunge groundes as these
 bee, I shoulde thinke hee did rather expose this con-
 cepte of Hell paines, to bee derided of the worlde, then
 to bee beleued, hee euerie where so secondeth his
 badde cause with woorse proofes; but where better foode
 wanteth, Akornes are good meate, and blacke Moores
 maie bee beautifull, when others bee awaite. I would
 heere make an ende of his first parte, but that as his
 manner is, when hee hath stumbled absurdlie a long
 while at hell hee steppeth on the suddaine as vnhand-

¹ Pag. 80:

“somelie to heauen. ¹ Knowe therefore (saith hee) hell, as we
 take it is euen in this life founde sometime, as heauen is like-

= Pag. 81

“wise; for as ^m touching materiall fire in hell, what a toyist
 fable

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fable is that? else I praise you how may the soules of the damned suffer by materiall fier, seeing they are spirits, and therefore with them and fier materiall there can be no communion. But let it bee as it may be; the locall hell of the damned we speake not of. You flacke your hell paines (Sir Reuter) towarde the ende, as if all this while you had bene too hot in the m; and heere you giue three qualifications to the m; or rather contradi- ons to your former speeches. Hell as you take it is **SOME- TIMES** found in this life. But two leaues before you tolde vs the **"paines and sufferings of Gods wrath, which are the hell** that you saie Christ suffered, **ALVAIES** accompanie them that are separated from the grace & love of God; how cometh **ALVAIES** to bee so quicklie changed into **SOMTIMES**? were there fewer wicked when you spake the last wordes, then when you spake the first? or are you better aduised; remembryng what a grosse absurditie it woulde bee to cast all infidels and hypocrites, wicked and disobedient persons into hel torments all the time of this life before the iudgment of God taketh hold of them? **Secondlie**, **"as there is heauen** euen in this life in some measure, euen so, saie you, there may be hell. You doe not meane that here on earth are the verie same ioies and blisse that are in heauen, nor any way equall to them; if you did, it were a letwder absurditie then the former. For here we reioice, that our names are written in heauen; (as the Apostle teacheth vs to doe) we reioice vnder the hope of the glorie of God. Now hope that is seene, is not hope. For howe can a man hope for that which hee seeth (or possesseth?) but when we hope for that we see not; we doe with patience abide for it. In this life we walke by faith, not by sight; and whiles we dwell in the bodie, we are absent from the Lord. For though we be now the sonnes of God, it appeareth not as yet what we shal be; our life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our life, shall appeare, then shall wee also appeare with him in glorie. If you therefore affirme of hea- uen as you do of hell, that the **VERIE SAME** ioies which are

"Page. 77.

"Pag. 80.

" Luke. 10

" Rom. 5

" Rom. 8.

" 2. Cor. 5

" 1. John. 3

" Colof 3

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^aHebre. 11.

¹Page 71.

^aHebre. 12.

^aPage 68.

^bHebre. 11.

^cPsal. 51.

^aPage 81.

in heauen, or ^aLOV ALL with them are here sometime found on earth, it is a wicked error flatlie repugning to the trueth of Gods promises, and to the verie nature of our Christian faith and hope. (For ^a faith is the ground of chinges hoped for, and the euidence of things not yet appearing,) but if you meane that as wee conceiue HOPE of heauenlie blisse, so wee most needes REIOYCE in it; this position is verie true, but plainelie opposite to your imagination of hell paines. For then must there in this life bee no more felte of hell, but the FEARE thereof, and the griefe arising from that feare; euen as the HOPE of heauen maintaineth our ioye. For we in Christ could neuer the feare of hell possible bee founde, nor anie griefe, or sorrowe arising from anie such feare, since there was in his soule no wante of faith nor hope, no Y not anie the least diminution of either, as your selfe confesse; but as the Apostle saith, ² FOR THE IOY THAT WAS SET BEFORE HIM he endured the (paine of the) crosse, and despised the shame. And here you may see by your owne comparison the follie of your owne assertion. For if your bellish sorrow ^a be the only true and perfectly accepted sacrifice to God, (as you saie) and ^b without faith it is impossible to please God; which alwaies hath hope, and consequentlie, ^c the ioye of saluation annexed vnto it, which you call heauen; then can no man please God, or offer anie sacrifice to God, till hee bee both in hell and heauen at one and the same time; and the ioyes of heauen are so coupled with the paines of hell, that none of the faithfull can be in the one without the other, but in both together. And thus haue you brought heauen and hell not onelie to bee euerie where, but by your corrupt conceites to bee alwaies linked together. Lastlie, the fire of hell doeth somewhat trouble you, and therefore you labour bitterly to quench it; and aske, ^d what a toyish fable is that? but good Sir, if you would bring no more fables then I doe, you might haue spared not euerie lease, but euerie line in this

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this your brauised pamphlet. I spake not in my sermon one word either of materiall, or corporall fire in hell, but I byged the fire of hel to be a true created fire, and not any metaphoricall flame, as you here dreame: from which since the bodie and soule of Christ were both free, he did not suffer the true paines of hell, nor the same torments which the damned do in hell; and which wee should haue suffered, had wee not bene redeemed.

*This (you saie) is great iniquity, yea plaine sophistry to am-
plifie against you, and to make your most holie truth odious with
the people onely by the ambiguitie of the worde hell. Begin
you now to finde the sensible absurditie of your mishapen
fancie? If you woulde haue taken the name of hell metapho-
ricallie for great and exceeding paines, this question had
bene sooner calmed, and our Crede freed from your nelms
found exposition. But to father your opinion vpon the crede
with moze likelihood, where the word hell is properlie taken,
(though you now hatch vs a new signification of hell out of
Socrates,) you then byged as your selfe in this present confu-
tation do still byge, that Christ must haue the ^f FVL VVAIGHT
AND BURDEN of our sinnes laid vpon him, and ^e suffer those
sorowes and paines for sinne, VVHICH ELSE VVE SHOULDE;
that his price VVAS THE SAME which else wee shoulde haue
payde; that seeing it ^h was possible for him to feele THE
FVL SMART of our sinnes, yea ALL OVR SMART, and Gods
strict iustice so required, IT VVAS SO, AND MVST BE SO;
as also, that ⁱ it is not proportionable with iustice, that an easier
punishment should satisfie for a greater sinne, and ^k of al absurdi-
ties the greatest, that meere men shoulde suffer more deepe-
then Christ did; and therefore, ^l Christ sustained euen the sence
of Gods wrath DVE to our sinnes, and had the ^m VVHOLE
CURSE of God for sinne executed on him, that is the ⁿ DEATH
OF THE SOVLE and the ^o TORMENTES, and sor-
rowes DVE TO THE DAMNED.*

** Pag. 80.*

^f Pag. 28.

^e Pag. 34

^h pag. 37.

ⁱ pag. 2

^k pag. 48

^l Pag. 73.

^m Pag. 40.

ⁿ Pag. 77.

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Sophistrie Sir, what is the FULL BURDEN of our sinnes,
and THE SAME PRICE which we should haue paid, what
is OVR FULL SMART yea ALL OVR SMART, and the
VVHOLE CURSE OF GOD; what is the DEATH of the
soule, and the TORMENTS DVE TO THE DAMNED,
But those verie things which I by the warrant of Gods word
told the people were prepared and threatened to the wicked,
and shall bee executed on them in hell, as they should haue
bin on vs, if we had not bin redeemed by the blood of Christ?
you must recall all your reasons, and vnstate all these possiti-
ons before you can auoid that which I object. If Christ did,
and must by Gods iustice suffer the VVHOLE, the SAME,
and ALL that was due to vs for our sinnes; shewe me, good
Sir, I praye you (for I confesse it passeth my reach) how you
can free him from the darknes, destruction, reprobation, male-
diction, worne or fire of hell? yea those words, if you looke not
well to them, and rebate them in time with some fresh wite,
they wil carrie with them both the PLACE and PERPETV-
ITY of hell; for both these were DVE to our sinnes, and are
parts of Gods CURSE, and should haue bene executed on
vs, as they shall bee on the damned; and out of ALL, the
VVHOLE, and the SAME, how can you except anie, but by an
open Vray dire of dotage? [*° The local hel of the damned you
speak not of.*] Speake of what you will; so long as your as-
sertions, in full and plaine termes inferre and conclude so
much; well your words may runne without your wits; but
I tell you trulie what is the consequent of them, and leaue
those wordes, and then your most holie trueth is left naked
without shew or shadow of prooofe. For these generals, the
VVHOLE, the SAME, and ALL giue life, such as it is, to
your childish reasons. Without them you cannot open your
mouthe to make one conclusion.

But because hell fire so much crosseth your cause, that you
would faine be rid of it, and burneth your fingers so fast, (Sir
Refuter,) that you strue to cast water on it; giue mee
leau

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leauē a little to let you vnderstand, it flameth moze fiercelie, then that you can quench it with the licour of your mouth. And the rather for that in the eares of all men it is a most sensible reproofe of your vsauorie position. For if Christ suffered not the fire of hell in bodie noz soule, then most apparantlie he suffered not the FULL burden of our sinnes, noz paid the SAME price which wee should haue paide, noz endured ALL our smart, noz felt the VVHOLE curse of God, noz sustained the tormentes DVE to the DAMNED; and therefore the true kindeling of this fire, is the vtter quenching of your new deuised hell paines. Knowe you therefore (Sir Refuter) that your metaphoricall fire in hell is a phantastical error of yours; and you shall doe well to tremble at the terrible iudgement of God threatned in his worde with moze religion, then to cast off that fire as a *toyish fable*. I shall not neede to rehearse, how often it is denounced in the Scriptures, and in what vehement and constant manner; let vs learne rather carefullie to shunne the place, then cunninglie to shift the word, which they shall finde to bee no figure, that feele it. ^P A fire (saith God himselfe) is kindled ^{P Deutero. 32} in my wrath, and shall burne to the bottome of hell, it shall eate through the earth, and the depth thereof, and shal inflame the foundations of the hils. ⁹ Behold, (saith Esay) the Lord wil ^{1 Esā. 66} come with fire, that he may recompence his anger with wrath, and his indignation with the flame of fire, for the Lorde shall iudge with fire. The slaine of the Lorde shall bee manie, their Worme shall not die, neither shal their fire be quenched. Which wordes our Saviour directlie referreth to hell. ¹ It is better to enter into life hauling, then hauing two legs to bee cast into hell, into the fire that neuer shall bee quenched, where their Worme dieth not, and the fire neuer goeth out. ¹ If wee sinne willinglie (saith the Apostle to the Hebrues,) ^{1 Hebrē. 10} there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a fearefull expectation of iudgement, and raging fire, which shal deuoure the aduersaries. ¹ As Sodome and Gomorra and the cities about ^{1 Iudæ. epist.} them

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them are set forth for an ensample, and suffer the vengeance of eternall fire. ^u The fearefull and vnbeleeuing, the abhominable and murtherers, and whoremongers, and forcerers, and Idolaters and all lyars shal haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death; **To whome the Iudge shall saie, when they shall see the truth thereof befoze their eyes,** ^x Depart from mee ye cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the Diuell and his angels. ^y For the Lord Iesus shall shewe himselfe from heauen with the Angels of his power in flaming fire rendering vengeance to them which know not God, and obey not the Gospell. **That the fire with which Christ shall appeare to iudge, shall bee corporall and visible to all mens sights can bee no question, it** ^z shall dissolue the heauens, melt the elements, and burne vp the earth with the workes that are therein, as Peter affirmeth: and that the wicked shall euerlastingly be burne therein, all the Fathers with one consent acknowledge. ^a Ignorance (saith Austen) of such as are not willfully, but simplie ignorant, shall excuse no man from burning in euerlasting fire. For it is not saide without cause: Christ shall come in flaming fire to render vengeance to those y know not God. ^b In flaming fire rendering vengeance; this (saith Ierome) *Paul* speaketh against them because they dreamt of the paine of conscience, and thought this impossible. If the flame by Gods commandement did not so much as touch the three men (that were cast into it,) ^c why by the same power shoulde not fire be beleued to bee sharper to some, and easier to others? ^c Christ shal come (saith Ambrose) with his heauenlie armie, and with fire as his minister to giue vengeance on the Pagans which knewe not God, and the Iewes which beleued not the gospell of Christ, all which the fire shall burne, that they may bee punished with euerlasting destruction, alwaies feeling it, and neuer failing in it, that the verie paine which consumeth them, may euer renewe them. **And so Chrysostome.** ^d Thinke on this fire, and thou wilt count the pleasure of sinne to bee no pleasure. If the

^u Apoc. 21.

^x Mart. 25
^y 2. Thessa. 1

^z 2. Pet. 3

^a August. de
grat. & lib. ar-
bitr. cap. 3

^b Hierony. in 2.
Thessa. ca. 1

^c Ambros. in,
2. Thessa. ca. 1

^d Chrysost. in
2. Thessa. ca. 1

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the onely sight of a deade man so quail our hearts, howe much more hell, and the fire which cannot be quenched? because the very remembrance of it is able to drawe vs to do well, therefore God hath appointed the very threatning of it, as an wholesome medicine for our soules.

Your Aeuicelle obiections against these and the like places, that if there be true fire in hell, why not a true worme as well, and much wood? And if this fire were prepared for Diuels that are spirits, what communion hath fire with spirits? these trifles of yours I saie, S. Austen hath long since fullie considered, and learneblie refuted, and plainlie resolved, that all these toys notwithstanding, the fire of hell is not onelie a TRUE fire, which were my words, but a CORPORAL fire that shall punish both men and diuels; at which you so much wonder.

Mitti in gebennam ignis, ubi vermis eorum non moritur, & ignis non extinguitur, non piguit vno loco eadem verbatim dicere. Quem non terreat ista repetitio, & illius per comminatio tam vehemens ore diuino? To be cast into hell fire, where their worme dieth not, and the fire quencheth not, Christ did not loath in one place, to repeate the same wordes thrice. Whome woulde not this repetition terrifie, and the threatning of that paine so earnest by Chrestes owne mouth? Both these, the fire and the worme, such as woulde haue them to belong to the paines of the soule, and not of the body, saie; that fire may be here fitlie taken for burning griefe; as the Apostle speaketh, ^f who is offended, and I burne not? the same kinde of griefe they thinke, may be vnderstood by the worme; for so it is written, ^g As the worme wasteth woode, so doeth griefe the heart of man. On the other side those that doubt not, but in hell the bodie and soule shall be both punished, they affirme the body shall bee afflicted with fire, the soule with a kinde of sorrowe, as it were with a worme. The which though it bee MORE LIKELIE, because it is ABSVRD, that in hel should want either paine of bodie or of soule, I rather beleeue that both PERTAINETH TO THE BODY, then that neither; and that the

* August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 21. cap. 9

^f 2. Corin. 11.

^g Prouerb. 25

Scripture

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Scripture in these wordes suppresseth the griefe of the soule, because it followeth as a conlequent, though it be not exprest, that the bodie beeing so tormented, the soule must likewise bee afflicted with an vnfruitfull repentance. For it is writte n in the booke of the olde Testament, ^b the vengeance on the flesh of the wicked is fire and worme. Let euerie man choose what best pleaseth him, to attribute fire to the bodie, the worme to the soule, the one properly, the other figuratiuely; or both to the bodie properly. For I haue afore sufficientlie shewed, that certaine creatures liue euen in the fire in burning without consuming, in payne without death, by the maruiculous power of the Almighty Creator; which to be possible whosoever denieth, knoweth not by whome all wonders are wrought. Let therefore euerie man choose of the twaine, which he liketh best, whether he will referre the werme properlie to the bodie, or to the soule, by a kinde of translation of thinges corporall to spirituall, so that BY NO MEANES HEE THINKE the bodies in hell shall bee such, that they shall not be touched with the paine of fire. ⁱ Heere riseth another question, if the fire that shall afflict (in hell) bee not incorporall, as the griefe of the soule is, but CORPORALL AND HVRTING VWHERE IT TOUCHETH, that bodies may therein bee tormented, howe the wicked spirits shall bee punished by the same? For the same fire is provided to punish both men and Diuels as Christ saith, ^k *Depart from me yee cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the Diuel and his Angels.* Why should we not say that incorporall spirits may be afflicted by the paine of corporall fire, after a true but a maruailous manner, when as the spirits of men beeing also incorporall, may now be inclosed in the members of their bodies, and shall then bee tied to the bandes of their bodies without dissolution? therefore the spirits of Diuels, or rather the spirits that are Diuels, though they be incorporall, shall be FASTENED TO CORPORALL FIRE, thereby to be tormented after a strange and vnspeakeable manner: Fastened I saie, to receiue torment from the fire, not to giue

^b Ecclesiast. 7

ⁱ Idem de ciuitate dei lib. 21. cap. 10

^k Math. 25.

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giue life to the fier. And hell it selfe which is called the lake burning with fire and brimstone, SHALL BE A CORPORAL FIER, and shall torment the bodies of men with their soules, and the diuels that are spirits without bodies feeling paine, but not giuing life to those CORPORALL FIERs. The steps of Austen both Gregorie followe: 1 Corporall fier to continue needeth corporal nourishment: but contrariwise the fier of hell (which is incorpozal) and shal CORPORALLY BURNE the wicked cast into it, is neither kindled with mans industrie, nor fed with wood, but once created remaineth vnquenchable, and needeth no kindling, and wanteth no burning. Therefore the Scriptures, to shew that the reprobate burne within & without, say, they are deuoured with fier, and made as an ouen, that by fier they may bee tormented in their bodies, and by grieve burne in their mindes. And though the word *incorporeus* bee crept here into Gregories text in stead of *Corporeus*, as appeareth by the comparison and words adioyning, (for it were no strange thing that a metaphoricall fier should neede no kindling of man, nor nourishing of wood; & how can an incorpozall fier CORPORALLY burne the reprobate, which are the words presently following?) yet to put that out of doubt, his opinion is clere to the contrarie in his Dialogues, where hee saith: ^m That the FIER OF HELL IS CORPORALL, I haue no doubt, in which it is certain bodies shall be tormented. And if the diuell and his angels being incorporall shal be tormented with CORPORALL FIER, what maruell if the soules before they receiue their bodies feele corporall torments?

l Greg moral.
li. 15 cap. 17.

^m Idem. dia-
log. lib. 4.

Neither were they the first that made this resolutiō; that an actuall and sensible fier shal torment the bodies & soules of the damned; the Church of Christ from the beginning beleuened & saue. ⁿ The prophane Philosophers (saith Tertullian) know the difference of this common and that hid fier; so far distant is this which serueth mans vse, fro y which in Gods iudgement appeareth, whether it flash with thupder from heauen, or break through the earth by the tops of hills. For that consumeth not, what it burneth; but rather repayreth what it eateth, as the

ⁿ Tertul. in
apologetico
versus finem.

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mountaines euer burning doe still continue, and he that is blasted from heauen liueth and turneth not to ashes. This is a testimonie of that eternall fier, this is an example of that perpetuall iudgement, which maintaineth punishmēt. The hills burne and dure; how then shall the wicked and the enemies of God?

o Lactant de
diuino prax-
mio li. 7. ca. 21.

Lactantius in like sort : o The holy Scriptures teach vs how the wicked shall be punished. Because they sinned in their bodies, they shall take their flesh again, that they may be punished in their bodies; yet that flesh which God will clothe man with, shall not bee like this earthly flesh, but indissoluble and remaining for euer, that it may suffice for torment, and for euerlasting fier. The nature of which fier is diuerse from this which wee vse about the necessities of this life. For that fier alwaies liueth and burneth of it selfe without any nourishment. The same diuine fier therefore with one and the same strength and power shall burne and continue the wicked, and shall yeeld it selfe euerlasting maintenance, so as it shall only burne and torment without any decay to the bodie. **Cyprian is often and earnest in this cause :**

p Cyprian. ad
Demetrianū.

p Cremabit addictos ardens semper gehenna, & viuacibus flammis vorax pœna, nec erit unde habere tormenta vel requiem possint aliquando, vel finem : Hell alwaies burning shall broyle them that are adiudged to it, and paine shall deuoure them, with continuall flames; neither shall their torments haue

q Idem de lau-
de martyrij.

ease or end. And againe, q Saniens locus cui gehenna nomen est, cructantibus flammis per horrendam spissæ caliginis noctem, sana semper incendia camini fumantis expirat; globus ignium atratus obstruitur, & in varios pœna exitus relaxatur : The cruell place, which is called hell, casteth vp fearfull fiers, like a burning chimney, the flames breaking through the horrible darknes of y thick mist; a whole globe of blackish fier standing and resolving into

r Idem de as-
censione chri-
sti.

diuers sorts of torments. r Stridorem illum Dentū flamma inextinguibiles agitabunt, immortales miseri uiuēt inter incendia, & inconsumptibiles flamma nudū corpus allambens : Vnquenchable flames shall force that gnashing of teeth, immortall wretches shall liue in the midst of fier, and flames neuer consuming shall wrap their naked bodies. Hell as Chrysostome wytteth, hath fier and darknes, but far worse then these which we are ac-

quainted

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quainted with. For if there be fier (saith he) how is there darknesse? thou seest that fier is more grievous then this our fier, for it hath no light: if it bee fier, how doth it burne for ever? thou seest it is worse then ours, for that is not to be quenched, and therefore is called vnquenchable. Let vs then thinke with our selues how great a miserie it is, to burne for ever, to be in darknes, to make continuall lamentation, and to gnash the teeth and not to be regarded? if darknes alone doe so terrific, and trouble our hearts, what shall it do when such griefes & flames of fier come with it?

f Chrysost. in
hebre ca. 1.
homilia. 1.

Minutius Felix in his dialogue betwixt an Ethnicke and a Christian, cited by Lactantius in his first booke *De falsareligione* cap. 11. saith: As the lightnings touch mens bodies, but

r Minutius
Felix in Octa-
uius.

consume them not; and the flames of the hills Aetna & Vesuvius, and of other parts of the earth do burne & not waste; so that punishing fier (inbell) seedeth not vpon the decays of their bodies that burne, but continueth without eating or wasting their bodies. The same comparison doth Pacianus, y died vnder Theodosius, make in his exhortation vnto repentance against the

Novatians: *Post animarum tempestiva supplicia rediunt quoque perpetua corporibus poena seruatur*: After the due punishment of the soules, (of the wicked) a perpetuall torment is prepared for their bodies that shall be restored to life. The force whereof you may coniecture by the things which are in this world. Aetna, Lisaniculus, and Vesuvius in Campania doe cast out vnceasing, flames of fier, and to manifest to vs the perpetuall of that (terrible) iudgement, they still breake & waste, and yet neuer end.

u Pacianus in
parænesi ad
penitentiam.

Sibylla whom * Lactantius, * Eusebius, and * Austen alledge and allow as inspired by God, describeth the last iudgement with these words: The earth cleaving shall lay open the dungeon of hell; all kings shall come before the Tribunall of God, and a flood of fire and brimstone shall fall from heauen (vpon the wicked.) y *Christus in suo tunc terrore videbitur, ei que ignis iudicii in reproborum vindicta famulabitur, quia videlicet Ignis ille iudicii, qui celum, aerem, & terram concremat, peccatores involuit; quos proculdubio in poena sua damnationis confringit*: Christ then shall be seene in his terror, and the fier of iudgement shall serue him to reuenge the Reprobate, by rea-

x Lactantius
lib. 7. ca. 20.
x Eusebius de
vita Constant.
x August de
ciuitate Dei
li. 18. ca. 23.
y Greg. in E-
zechiel ho-
mil. 2.

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z Idem moral.
li. 9. ca. 39.

son the very fier of iudgement; which melteth the heauens, the ayre and the earth, wrappeth in sinners, whom doubtlesse it crusheth in the torment of their damnation. ⁊ **Yea**, the flame of hell shineth not to the Reprobate for their comfort, and yet giueth light for their punishment; that to the eyes of the damned though the fier of their torment shine with no brightnes, yet it sheweth for their further grieve in what sort they are punished. Now thinke you **Sir Refuter**, is it a **TOYISH FABLE** worthy of such contempt as you make it, or a point of Ch:istian doctrine deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles, and receiued by the Fathers in all ages in Ch:ists Church, that the **FIRE** of hell shalbe **VISIBLE** and **SENSIBLE** to the bodie of the wicked, and shall **ETERNALLY** and **CORPORALLY** punish the damned according to their deserts without quenching it selfe, or consuming the? And your foolish Philosophie that things corporall cannot worke vpon things spiritual, must giue place to the power and will of the Almighty; by whose appointment wee see in this life nothing more common, the that the soule which is spirituall, suffereth from her bodie all kindes of paines; and therefore it is as easie for God to make the soule feele fier in the next life without the bodie, as with the bodie; whose power if it please you to impugne, you must leaue the name of a Ch:istian, and get you some other profession. So then the paines which the damned feele, besides the grieve of heauen lost, is **FLAMING FIER** intolerably tormenting both bodie and soule; and as ^a Cyprian obserueth; *Omni tormento atrocius desperatio condemnatos affliget*: Desperation, which shall afflict the condemned worse then al their torments. To these if you subiect the Sonne of God, you know what will follow; from these if you free him, as you needes must, then is the Question at an end: for in euery mans sight, Ch:ist did not suffer the paines of hell, nor the torments of the damned, which the scripture maketh to be these, & not those which you can neither expresse nor proue. From slender reasons you come (**Sir Refuter**) to slenderer authorities; and though you quote but few, and not one of them

a De ascensione Christi.

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them speaking one word to your purpose, yet before you produce them, you challenge them as insufficient to testifie in this, or any cause against your liking. For where they may not be iudges, nor with you so much as witnesses of the Scriptures sense, (you so reiect their expositions euerie where with pride & disdain) yet you in your wisdom take vpon you to build vpon the words of the holy Ghost, what absurdities and follies you list; and your best reason is, *we were fond to thinke otherwise:* but be more sober, if you will be ruled by me; it is the way to hazard your own wits, & not their credits, to entertaine the in this manner. [They speake not plainly, nor fully, you say, because it was neuer in question in their time.] Touching the redemption of man by the death & blood of Christ Iesus, they speake as plainly and fully as it is possible for men to speake; and keepe exactly the forme of wholesome doctrine deliuered in the Scriptures; touching your hell paines they say nothing in dead, because it was neuer heard of in y^e Church of Christ in their times; but that Christ died NOT THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE; and by the ONLY DEATH OF HIS BODY, and shedding of his blood sufficiently ransomed & redeemed vs, this cannot be spoken in plainer and exacter terms, then they haue proposed it and proued it. And therfore you and others shal doe well not to make al the ancient & learned lights of Christs Church so ignozant in their Creed & Catechisme, as not to know, how they were saued by y^e Crosse & death of Christ, before your hellish paines of the damned were of late deuised. Your better sifting of this matter, is the open wrestling and forcing of the scriptures against their true, proper and perpetual sense, to serue your strange conceits. And as you do with the scriptures, you must be suffered to do with the Fathers which you produce, that is; to put the quite from their own meaning, & frame their words to your fancies, before any man can tell to what end you cite them.

The first word you quote out of Ierom, you falsifie by putting *maledictum* to it, where Ierom doth not so, but simply saith, VVHAT VVE should haue suffered for our sinnes,

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that he suffered for vs. The very next words that are his owne, (for he interposeth a place of Scripture, that in his flesh Christ dissolued our enmitie with God, and healed vs with his stripes) are these. ^a *Ex quo perspicuum est, sicut corpus flagellatum & laceratum, ita animam verè doluisse pro nobis.* Whereby it is euident, that as his bodie was whipped and torne, so his soule truely sorrowed for vs. Here you must be permitted to adde of your owne, besides Ieroms meaning, that this sorrow was your hellish sorrow, or else I cannot see why you cited Ierom, except it were to falsifie him. But how, and why Christ sorrowed for vs, when Ieroms owne words were alleaged by me, your answer was; this ^b is more found

^a Hierony. in
Ela. ca. 53.

^b Pag 68.

^c Cyprian de
passione christi.

^d August. in
Psalm. 21.

^e Cyprian.
Ibidem.

and absurd than the other. Cyprians words you neither vnderstand, nor like; he saith that Christ ^c taking our person and cause vpon him sayd in our names, that he was forsaken: *Quod pro eis voluisti intelligi qui deserti à Deo propter peccata meruerant, quorum reconciliationis causam agebas,* which he would haue to be vnderstoode of vs (or for vs) who deserued by our sinnes to be forsaken of God, whose reconciliation he then vnderooke. So S. Austen expounded those words of Christ, My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me? ^d *Illæ vox membrorum ipsius vox erat, non capitis,* that voyce was the voice of his members, and not of the head; but you could not endure either Austen or any other father so to say, without controlement. [But Cyprian saith Christ endured like punishment to those that be sinners & accursed.] In part, not in all; otherwise he must haue suffered eternall death of bodie and soule: and therefore expounding himselfe in the next sentence, he saith, ^e *In tantum infirmis compateris, ut nec crucifigi, nec mori, dum illi vivant & non pereant, nec erubescas nec formides.* So far didst thou suffer with the weake, that thou didst neither shame to be crucified, nor feare to dye, so they might liue and not perish. Ambrose saith; With the sorrow of his soule Christ abolished the sorrow of our soules; Here you must haue leaue to bring in your hellish sorrowes againe. Ambroses minde, or else this is but lost labour: the causes of Christs heauines and sorrow when I repeated out of this
very

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very place of Ambrose, you reiected them as *fond and false*, ^{ff pag. 67.} and now with the bare name of sorrow you thinke Ambrose dreant of your hell paines. For shame reade out the chapter, and leaue these mistakings.

[But * Ambrose saith, the man (in Christ) now readie to die, by the separation of the Diuinitie, cried, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.] A man dieth when his soule lea-
neth his body. Christ therefore ready to die the death of the
body, which was left of *h* deitie vnto death, by withdra-
wing it selfe for a time, vttered these words. Death of the
soule, or dereliction vnto hell paines, there are none to be
found in Ambrose, nor any words sounding that way, vn-
lesse you peruert them at your pleasure. The words next
going before are these: *Gloriga Dei professio, usque ad mor-
tem se pro nostris descendisse peccatis, vel euident manifestatio
contestantis Dei secessionem Diuinitatis & CORPORIS.* It was
a glorious profession of God, that he descended euen vnto death
for our sins; or an euident manifestation of God witnessing the
departure of his Diuinitie from HIS BODIE, (when it dyed.)
The next words of Ambrose why you alleage I doe not see,
but to make vp the number, which is very smale, and lesse
forcible. Who doubteth but Christ offered that, which he put
on? He put on his body, & his body he offered. S. Paul will
tell what Christ offered. ^h We are sanctified by the offering of
the bodie of Iesus Christ once made. Your own autho^r Saint
Ambrose writing vpon these words alleaged by Paul, ⁱ thou
hast fitted me a bodie, saith; *Hoc ex persona dicitur eius, qui*
*CORPVS SVSCEPIT nostra mortalitatis, vt pro nobis habe-
ret quod offerret.* This is spoken in his person, who put on our
MORTALL BODIE, that he might haue what to offer for vs.
^k *Vna quippe oblatio corporis Christi perfectos facit sanctificatos*
qua remissionem integram facit peccatorum. The one OBLATI-
ON OF THE BODIE OF CHRIST maketh perfect, such as
be sanctified, and giue full remission of sinnes. If you thinke
Ambrose mistoke the matter; heare Athanasius. ^l *A nobis fi-*
mili corpore mutnato, eo quod omnes mortis corruptioni obnoxij
essemus, pro omnibus ID IP SVM in mortem datum patri suo

* In Lucz. ca.
23. de com-
mendatione
spiritus.

g Ambros.
ibidem.

h Hebre. 10.

i Ambros. in
Hebre. ca. 10.

k Ibidem.

l Athanas. de
incarnatione
verbi Dei.

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SACRIFICAVIT, ut homines à morte ad vitam CORPORE suo, quod proprium sibi fecit, renocaret. IMMOLATIONE enim SVI CORPORIS & legi nobis infestam finem posuit, & primordium vitæ nobis renouavit spe resurrectionis nobis data. The son of God BORROWING FROM VS A BODIE LIKE OVRs, because we all were subiect to the corruption of Death did SACRIFICE THE SAME to his father by yeelding it vp vnto Death, that BY THE BODY which he made his own, he might recall men from Death to life. For by the OFFERING OF HIS BODIE, he ended the lawe that oppressed vs, and renewed the beginning of life vnto vs, giuing vs hope of Resurrection. Cyrill with the whole Synode of Alexandria, which I mentioned befoze, wrote thus to Nestorius. ^m Christ is made the mediator of God and inan, and a reconciler of peace, offering himselfe to God, & to his father as a sweet smelling sacrifice, for he OFFERED HIS OVN BODIE FOR VS, to bee a sweete sauour. But of the true sacrifice for sinne, which Christ offered, I haue spoken enough befoze, as well in this conclusion, as in the Treatise. It must haue the BODIE, the BLOOD, and the DEATH of the offerer: none of which agræ to the soule of Christ, though the bodie without a soule could be no reasonable sacrifice; & therefore I exclude not the soule whose obedience, innocence, & patience concurred to sanctifie this sacrifice; but I note the parts of the sacrifice for sin by the Apostles doctrine were those, which I named, the blood and death of the Sacrificer; both which must needs be found in his body and not in his soule.

^m Epistola Synodi Alexandrinæ ad Nestorium.

ⁿ Tertullian contra Praxeam.

I from Ambrose you come to Tertullian, & there you find that which I neuer doubted of. ⁿ The Son suffered, for sake of his father. *Hæc vox est animæ & corporis, id est hominis.* This was the voice of soule & bodie, that is of man. Did you think the body could speak without the soule, befoze you read in Tertullian that this was the voice of both? If you did, you were deeply learned; if you did not, why doe you bring it as a matter worth the hearing, that bodie and soule toynd in speaking? But you help it ouer y^e stile with a false translatiõ, & where Tertullian saith, this was the voice of soule & flesh, you english it

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it, ° this is meant of the flesh and of the soule, to wit, as you ex-
pounde it, that both soule and bodie died forsaken of God.
Take back, Sir Refuter, your false and vsfauerie gloyes
that corrupt the text, Tertullian neuer heard, nor thought of
the death of Christs soule, nor of ante such forsaking, as you
imagine; hee expoundeth himselfe without your additions,
in the verie same place, plaine enough. *Denique posuit*
spiritum, & statim obiit. Spiritu enim manente in carne, caro om-
nino mori non potest. Ita relinqui a patre fuit mori filio; filius i-
gitur & moritur, & resuscitatur. Dicendo denique Christus
mortuus est, id quod unicum est mortuum ostendit, id est, carnem,
Christ laid aside his spirit, and PRESENTLY DIED. For his
spirit remaining in his flesh, the FLESH by no meanes coulde
DIE. So to be forsaken of the father, was for the sonne TO DIE.
The sonne therefore died and was raised againe. Then in saying
Christ died, (Paul) shewed that died which was annointed, euen
the flesh of Christ. Of the death of Christs flesh Tertullian
speaketh; which hee saith, could not possiblie bee, so long as
Christs soule remained in his bodie. Christ then died no
death of the soule whiles he liued, and breathed on the crosse;
but the death which hee died was the laying aside of his
soule, and leaving his bodie vnto death. You ende with
Cyril that Christ made his flesh a Redemption for our flesh,
and his soule a Redemption for our soules. Cyril meaneth no-
thing lesse then that, which you would imple, that with the
death of either part in himselfe, Christ redeemed each part
in vs; But Cyril knowing that Christ in his sufferings on
the crosse ioyned both partes together, the one to receaue
the violence and rage of the wicked, which was his bodie; &
other to seele & endure the smart thereof with all obedience
patience, which was his soule; saith truly that Christ ioyning
both soule and bodie in suffering for vs, redeemed both soule
and bodie in saving vs; which wee acknowledge to bee true
without exception. For had not the soule of Christ bene
partner, yea chiefe patient in those bodilie sufferings of

¶ Tertullian
aduersus
Praxeam in
eodem loco.

¶ Cyril de reo-
ta fide ad Theo-
dorum.

Christ, they could not haue profited vs; neither doe we at any time otherwise speake or thinke of Christs sufferings, but that the bodie was the instrument whereby the soule of Christ did admit and feele all those paines, wrongs, shames, wounds and whatsoever he endured on the crosse, or before at their hands, which put him to death. But these paines and sorowes of Christs soule, you saie; MAKE NOT TOO OVER REDEMPTION, and vnlesse the soule properlie and immediately (not from, or by her bodie) feele hellish paines and sorowes, such as the damned doe, you make no reckning of all that Christ otherwise suffered. And this is your error which you shrowde vnder the name of a most holie truth, where indeede, if it be byged & followed, as you beginne, it will fall out to be a most hainous contemning of all that Christ suffered for vs; and a dangerous substituting of other deuises, which Christ neither did nor could suffer, as you propose them.

You end, Sir Refuter, as you beganne with egregi-
ous lyes, that *not the most or the best, BUT ALL AND EVE-*
RY ONE, *both churches and writers in the world, that are pro-*
testants, *teach as you doe, and that your doctrine is publike au-*
thorized by the lawes of this Realme, as appeareth by the booke
of Homilies, where it is said, that *Christ put himselfe betweene*
Gods deserved wrath and our sinne. But (Say confuter) if you
haue this proprietie of Mydas y^e you can turne all Fathers,
Churches, writers, and lawes with touching them, to be of
your opinion, you must haue Mydas eares too; vnlesse you
looke better about you. Such an insolēt and impudent speech
would well become an ale-house, where no mā should heare
you; but in the face of the world to haue after this sort is to-
lerable in no man, but in you, that neither know what you
say, nor see what you should prooue, nor vnderstand what ma-
keth with you or against you. You no sooner reade in any mā
new or olde mention of Gods wrath, or of death; but you
straight fancies that he meaneth your hel paines, & the death of
the

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the soule; and so you play with the homilies allowed by the
lawes of this Realme. Where because you find that Christ
interposed himselfe betweene the wrath of God & vs, to auert
it from vs, you forthwith resolve, the Homilies teach your
doctrine. But awake, Sir Refuter, and you shall see great
difference betwixt the doctrine taught in the booke of Homi-
lies, and publicly approved by the lawes of this Realme,
your frenzies; that Christ died the death of the soule; that
the vvhole curse of God was executed on Christ; that he
was by our sinns defiled, sinful, hateful, & accursed; that al the
powers of his soule & senses of his body were overwhelmed, distrac-
ted, and all confounded, that he felt the verie Dinels to be instru-
ments, executing the wrath of God upon him, that the sufferings
of Christs soule, by Sympathie as you call it, (that is from and
by the body) make not to our redemption; that Christs soule died,
and was crucified, where it is absurd and most false to say Christ
was made a line ether in his humane soule, or by the same; these
and an hundred such absurdities and impieties haue no al-
lowance in the booke of Homilies, nor any thing sounding
towards your hellish paines of the damned. The doctrine
there taught is sound, true and plaine, that we are redeemed
by the death and blood of Christ Iesus; that such was the iust
displeasure of God against our sinnes, that though he were
his owne son, that undertooke the cause for vs, the iustice of
God pursued him with most painfull smart and anguish e-
uen unto death; and forced the weaknesse of his humane
flesh to crie, my God, my God why hast thou forsaken
mee. But you content not your selfe with this; you
must haue him suffer the verie paines of the damned
in Hell, or nothing. His bodilie death were it
neuer so paynfull and sharpe, you make light ac-
count of; the sheenes crucified with Christ, suffered, you say, as
great bodily violence as he did; yea wicked & vngodly men endure
with boldnes & great ioy far more exquisite & barbarous tor-
ments & sharper tortures, as touching the body, then Christ could

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Ambros. in
Lucæ ca. 22
de Tristitia
Christi.

Aug. tractat.
in Iohan. 36.

Bernard. de
passione Chri-
sti. cap. 5

endure, and therefore in plaine words you saie, ¹ such follie in
the same of God, bee it farre from y^e once to imagine, as that he
should stagger, shrink or faile for any corporal tormentes what soe-
uer, forgetting what Ambrose writeth; ² *Neque enim habent
fortitu isus laudem, qui stuporem magis vulnerum tulerunt, quā
dolorem*: it can haue no praise of fortitude to be desperately con-
firmed, rather then patientlie subiected vnto paine of tormentes.
And what Austē confesseth, ³ *Nihil erat tunc IN CARNE IN-
TOLERABILIS*, there was nothing more intolerable in the
fl:sh then the crosse of Christ: as likewise that Bernarde re-
solueth ⁴ *Nec aliquo modo dubitandum, quin infirmitatem &
exterminationem corporis incomparabilem sustinuerit*; it must
not be doubted, but Christ suffered incomparable weakenes and
torment of body. For this if you did strue, it were to be to-
lerated; for that which no sa:ter euer testified, nor scripture e-
uer affirmed, when you shew your selfe so eager; you be to pay
your humor, you benefit not your cause.

Thou hast heard christian Reader, what things I haue mis-
liked in the first part of this opponents pamphlet; but no-
thing more then this, that he wasteth so manie wordes, and
neither expresseth what hee meaneth, nor prometh what hee
pretendeth. All that he hath saide is this in effect; Christ suf-
fered in soule the wrath and curse of God for our sinne, or
due to sinne; but these are so generall termes that in parte
they bee true, in parte they bee false, and therefore hee that
walketh in these cloudes, and descendeth not to particulars,
meaneth to hide his heade vnder the Couert of these ge-
neralities when neede is; and out of these to fashion to
himselfe such assertions as please best his humour. The
waie to come by a trueth, is to specifie the partes of
Gods wrath and curse, which they suppose Christ suffered,
and then shall wee in fewe wordes trie whether those suffer-
ings accord with the rules and groundes of the scriptures,
or no. And this I forgettell, because if hee or any other
for him bee disposed to reuue his cause, hee must not
bzing

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bring a sacke full of words for so waightie matters; but plainlie and particularlie declaring what he holdeth, and proving what he affirmeth, go directly to the point, and then by Gods grace we shall soon trie where truth standeth. But if anie man will draw the grounde of our redemption to generall and ambiguous termes, which shall still increase contention to noe purpose; I meane not to repell words with words; till they answer these proofes, I will not trouble my selfe with their emptie phrases.

In the second Question of Christs descent to hell, I shall not hold thee long (gentle reader) because this babler forgetting what I sayd, concerning the purpose and purpose of Christs descent to hell, runneth a new course to Pagans and Poets for help; to expound that article of our Creede; and there presumeth himselfe to be so strong, that of the rest he doth prate without reason or remembrance. The end of Christs descent to hell, I noted out of Athanasius, Fulgentius and others, and proved their speech conformable to the Scriptures; the places thou hast in the latter part of the treatise, I meane not to increase this close with needlesse repetitions. The Cōfuter, belike distracted and distempered with the cogitation and confusion of his hell paines, utterly mistaketh or forgetteth the whole. He supposeth Christs descent to hell had none other purpose, but ² *to triumph and insult up-* ² Pag. 64.
*on the thrice miserable and wofull wretches in their present vn-
speakeable damnation, infinitely confounded already, & inferroth;
Sure a verie srie triumph this were for the sonne of God which e-
uen among men were nothing but dishonorable; but if his braines
be so briske, that he can neither conceave, nor carrie a-
waie what I sayd; I must not beate it into his head: that
I then preached, is here now printed, let him reflect
if hee can. Soe when I made the subduing of hell and
treading on Satan with all the power of darknesse, a
chiefe part of the glorie of Christs resurrection, this sco-
ner in his foolish conceite mocketh at it, and saith ² *a worthie* ² Pag. 54.
*priviledge**

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- "priviledge sure, and verie honorable. All men would thinke it
 "a greater honour neuer to haue come in hell at all. For his actual
 "triumphing in hell all the world knoweth, is the most inglorious
 "and vilest debasing. In sadnes (saye refuter) if these be your
 best exceptions against Christs triumphing ouer hell, all the
 world will knowe, that you are a worthe man, to weare a
 wooden dagger. The Apostle made it a part of Christs high
 exaltation, that euery knee, as well of things vnder the earth,
 as of things in heauen, should bow vnto him; and euery tongue
 confesse that Iesus Christ is the Lord; and do you thinke it a
 meeke matter to be mocked and derided? Paul saith; Christ
 spoyled principalities and powers (of hell & darknes) and made
 a shew of them openlie, and triumphed ouer them in his owne
 person, (for so I must reade till you shew me better authoritie
 against it, then I haue brought for it,) & your selfe both see and
 late, that ^c whyles Christ suffered and whyles he died, it was a mi-
 "serable triumph; yea ^d a piteous triumph it was indeede, where
 "himselfe remayned in such woful tormētts; where appeared no shew
 "of conquest; but rather of being conquered; & still he suffered till he
 gaue vp the ghost. What letteth them I praye you; since these
 words were not verified on the Crosse, but they did take
 place in his resurrection, as I teach; and therein as by the
 effects it was most euident and apparant to the eyes of all
 men, he did spoyle powers and principalities; & made a shew
 of them openly, and triumphed ouer them in his owne per-
 son? Doth the holy ghost attribute this as a great honour to
 the humane nature of Christ; that ^e ascending on high he led
 captiue captiue, and doe you make a merriment of it,
 appealing to the whole world for their censures on your
 side?
- "Your strongest soyt is this; & There can bee no commoditie
 "nor benefit to the godlie by it. For what good is there so much
 "as pretended? The generall redemption of all Gods elect and
 "chosen people was wrought and fullie finished on the Crosse.
 "what could his going downe to hell adde more? Is the subduing of
 hell

Pag. 156.

Philip. 2.

Coloss. 2.

Pag. 156.

Pag. 159.

Pag. 156.

Ephes. 4.

Pag. 163

Pag. 164.

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hell powers, and the treading on all their force, and the restraining of all their furie, so small a matter with you, that it doth no good to the godlie? Hee hath triumphed and spoiled them to free vs from feare; and hath taken the keyes of death and of hell, into his owne hands; to shew that all power is given him in heaven, earth, & hell, and that he can re-
^{Reuel. 1.}frayne and ^k bind Satan at his will and pleasure. Is the performance and assurance of these things no commodity nor benefit to the godlie? [*The redemption of Gods elect, was (you say) fully finished on the Crosse.*] Deserued and obtained it was on the Crosse, and by the crosse, but not thereto executed. There were our sinnes pardoned, and our selues reconciled to God; but as Christ died for our sinnes, so he rose for our justification. His resurrection in that glorious manner, which I haue mentioned in the treatise, his ascension are necessary parts of our Salvation; and therefore vse not the force of Christs crosse to exclude, but to induce the rest. For so doth the Apostle when he saith, ^{Philip. 2.} Christ humbled himselfe, & became obedient vnto y death of the crosse. Wherefore (that is euen for that his humillity & obedience) God hath highly exalted him & given him a name aboue euerie name; that at the name of Iesus should every knee bow of things in heaven, in earth, & vnder the earth. So that his descending, rising, and ascending added nothing to the force of his death, but shewed the fruite thereof; and tend all to our good, since wee are presently secured from the power of hell and Satan, and shall be certaintie raysed and receaued to glorie. Christs death without his resurrection and ascension had bene our confusion, and no redemption; for if sinne had slaine him without rising, it must needs haue damned vs without hoping: now in his Resurrection as euery Enemy was most mighty, so was there most need he should be subdued. But heretofore I haue spoken so largely before that I shall not neede to repeat it againe; with turning the
 page

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page it maie soone bee same.

" *Pag 148.* [But *" The Scriptures (you tell vs) are cleare-*
 " *ly against Christs going to Hell. For this daie (sayd Christ*
 " *to the theefe) thou sh. li. bee with mee in Paradise . "* All
 " *this must needs be of his humane soule verelie without all questi-*
 " *on. There is none can consider herein his Deitie. Ifanie thinke*
 " *his soule might goo to hell first , and present be goe thence to hea-*
 " *uen yer night also, that is ridiculous and toyish .] You haue so*
 manie topps in your head, *By Refuter,* that a coloured cap
 would well become it: when you come to a non plus in your
 p^{ro}ofes, then you crie, this is ridiculous and toyish. So like
 your selfe, and loke to the ridiculous topes that you bzing
 vs in euery page almost. You would p^{ro}ue, forsooth, that the
 SCRIPTVRES ARE CLEARE against Christs being in
 hell at ante time betwene his death, and his Resurrection;
 & for your warrant you bzing his words to the theefe on the
 crosse; this daie thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise; and at his
 death when he sayd; Father into thy hands I commend my spi-
 rite: And when the places conclude no such thing as you
 would haue them, nor ante thing nere it; then you helpe it
 " *Pag. 150.* " *with outcries, and saie; " There is no man of sense considering*
 " *these circumstances that can iudge otherwise . But will your*
 wisdome remember that S. Austen in his 57. Epistle dis-
 cussing this place of p^{ur}pose, to day thou shalt bee with mee
 in Paradise; saith the word MEE maie verie readily and
 easily bee referred to Christs Godhead, promising the thiefe
 Paradise that present daie; and all the childish amplificati-
 ons that you haue brought vs to the contrarie, are not
 worth a nut-shell to conteruaile S. Austens iudgement .
 But graunt it were nient of Christs soule; are you so per-
 fect in the length of the waie from hell to Paradise, and the
 wearines of Christs soule in going to both, that you be sure
 he could not do both that daie? You thinke belike Christ
 would not goe thither, but to vield the devils one by one,
 and call their names to see who were absent. You haue fo-
 gotten

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gotten that **P** with his presence, or with his word whilst hee ^{Luke 8} lived here on earth, hee could torment the diuels, and therefore if it pleased him but to shewe himselfe, who hee was, whom they had so despitesfullie pursued by the handes and tongues of the wicked on the Crosse; all hell must not onely bend and bowe vnto him, but feare and fall before him. Againe, what coulde hinder though he did not descende that date which hee died, but hee might so doe the date that hee rose; and euen when hee was to rise to loose all the strength of hell before him, and to let Satan see that his kingdome was ouerthrowne by that drath, at which hee so much insulted and reioyced? The time I doe not determine, though I thinke it pertained rather to the glorie of his resurrection, then otherwise; as I haue in the treatise more at large expessed.

[Was not his soule, you will aske IN HIS Fathers handes, till the time of his Resurrection?] Who doubteth that? As if to subdue hell with the glorie of his presence did not proue the hande of **GOD** to bee rather mightie with him, then anie waie to leaue him, and that to bee true, which was forespoken by David in his person, ^{Psal. 16.} Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell? [The handes of God, you thinke, signifie heere his ioyfull presence, and the possession of heauen.] Who tolde you so? Was David dying when hee saide; ^{Psal. 31.} Into thine handes I commende my spirite, thou hast redeemed mee Lord God of truth? Was Sion not on earth but in heauen, when the Prophet saith of her; ^{Esai. 62.} Thou shalt bee a crowne of glorie in the hand of the Lord, and a royall Diademe in the hande of thy God, it shall no more bee saide to thy land, Desolate, for thy land shall haue an husbando? Was the king of Iudah then in heauen, when God saide of him, ^{Iere. 22.} Though Coniah the sonne of Ichoiakim king of Iudah were the Signet of my right hand, yet would I plucke thee thence? Gods hand signifieth his power, and protection; and could there

greater fauour, power, or protection bee shewed to the soule of Christ, then for God in raising him from the dead, not onelie to treade death, but euen hell and Satān vnder his feete? Call you this a most inglorious and vile debasing, for the humane nature of Christ, to haue all power in heauen, and earth, (in which Hell also must bee comprized,) to bee deliuered vnto him; and to bee made Lord ouer all, not onelie men, and Angels, but euen enemies and diuels? From this honour and power, whereof it is said; "Thou hast subiected all things vnder his feete; mate no creature in heauen, nor in hell be excepted? And therefore if this bee a vile debasement, I knowe not what glorie meaneth. The purpose then of Christs descent to hell, giueth honour to him ouer all his enemies, and comfort to vs against the power and terrour of hell, which wee see dissolued and spoyled by our heade in our names, and for our sakes; for so much as beeing ioyned to him as ²members of his bodie, of his flesh, and of his bones, hell hath nowe no more right to vs then to him; since it is not possible but the heade muste bee where the members are: And Christ himselte y hungreth, and thirsteth, and is naked, and sicke, imprisoned, and persecuted, in euerie one of his members, euen in the basest and lowest of them; and this no more impeacheth the all sufficient merite of Christs Crosse, then his resurrection from the dead doeth the third daie after his death, and all things finished on the Crosse, needefull to bee suffered for our redemption; which in your franticke humour you seeme to detest as ²BLASPHEMOVS.

[The prooffe that hee went thither, you will saie, is all; if that were once cleered, the rest woulde soon be accorded.] I mate not for your pleasure (Sir Refuter) stande to rippe vppe and repeate the thinges which were then deliuered, and are now published; there you may loke; If you like them not, giue mee some reason besides your
owne

² 1. Cor. 15.

² Ephes. 5.

² Mat. 25.
Acts 9.

² Pag. 156.

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owne roning conceit, and it shall bee soone answered.
 [It is no where written in the scriptures you will saie.] ^{Epist. 99.}
 Saint y Austen iudiciallye and resolutelye telleth you, it is
 written in the Prophet Dauid, and so expounded by Saint
 Peter; and of that iudgement were all the Fathers of
 Christes Church without exception. ^{Athanas. in} Athanasius saith it is
 a parte of the Catholike faith, without helceuting the
 which we can not be saued. And sore the words be plaine e-
 nough, if you leaue wresting them from their right and true
 signification to serue your affections. What can be plainer, ^{Psal. 16.}
^{Act. 2.} Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, besides the Article of
 our Creede, He descended into hell? Your answer is: ^b This
 is euident that the worde hell in our vulgar Creede is un-
 fit, corrupt and starke naught. For this I asseme, it is onelie ^b Pag. 124
 the Fathers abusive speaking, and altering the usuall and auient ^c Pag. 95
 sense of Hades, that hath bredde this error of Christes descen-
 ding into hell. Their vnapt and perilous translating into La-
 tine, Inferi, and our naughtie and corrupt translation in Eng-
 lish, hell, hath confirmed the same. ^d And note here first it is ^d Pag. 96.
 a thing too risewith the Fathers, yea with some of the aunci-
 entest of them to alter and chaunge the authenticke vse of words,
 whereby consequentlie it is easie for errors and grosse mis-
 takings to creepe in. As Chirotonia to signifie ordination of
 Ministers, when it signifyeth authenticallye the peoples giuing
 of voices in election: Kleros, to signifie onelie the Cleargie, when it
 signifyeth all the flocke. Euen so trulie the Greeke fathers vse Ha-
 des, and the Latine Inferi, to signifie hell properlie and particu-
 larlye, that is, the place of the damned. ^e But this is a meere and ^e Pag. 97.
 plaine abusion of these wordes, and speciallie of our worde most in
 question, that is Hades. They haue much altered and changed the
 authenticke and true vse thereof. You begin now to shewe
 your selfe in your right hue. All the Greeke and Latin fa-
 thers that euer were in the Church of Christ; all the English
 teachers that haue bene since this nation receiued the faith,
 neuer vnderstood the signification of the word Hades, til you

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came of late to bring vs newes of Socrates fanſie, and Ciceros diuinitie to correct the Creede; Ignatius, Clemens, Origen, Athanaſius, Eusebius, Baſil, Nazianzene, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtome, Cyril, Euaſtathius, Theodotete, with a thouſand more naturallie borne Greekes; and manie of them nothing inferiour to Plato, or whom you can name, euen for their eloquence in the Greeke tongue, were they all ignozant of the worde Hades, which boies in Grammar ſchoole doe well vnderſtande? Did they all conſpire one after another to falſifie the ſaith? Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ierome, Ambroſe, Auſten, Hillarie, Prudentius, Proſper, Fulgentius, with infinite others great Schoollers and pillars in the Church of GOD, had none of them the ſkill to knowe what *Infernum* or *Inferi* meant, till you ſprang vp to reſtoze the Latine tongue to his originall integritie? Did they all concurre purpoſelie to corrupt the Creede? Which will you take from all theſe fathers religion, or learning? If you leaue them ſo much vnderſtanding as the boies haue now in Paules Schoole, they coulde not miſtake either Hades, or Inferi. And therefore you may talke thus long enough before you ſhall gette ante ſober Reader to beleue you. He muſt bee as farre infected with this frenzie as you your ſelfe are, before this will ante way ſinke into his head, that none of theſe vnderſtoode their owne naturall language. [But they haue miſtaken other wordes, you ſaie, as well as theſe; namely, *χειροτονία* and *κλῆρος*] In deede you, or they haue groſſelie miſtaken the one; the other is not, that I knowe in queſtion, unleſſe you take vppon you ſo greate a commande in the Church of GOD, that no worde maie bee vſed by any man without your conſent. Doeſt any father in expounding the Scriptures, put the Cleargie for the people; as if the reſt had no part in the Kingdome of Chriſt?

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Christ: but if they wanted a word to note them, that were called to the publike service of Christs church; and thought best to name them clerici, clerkes; what haue you to do with it: or what reason to speake against it; so long as the rest of Gods people are not thereby depriued of their parte in Gods heauenlie inheritance: And what if they tooke this tearme from the scripture and deriued the berie word from the Apostles mouthes: are you not well occupied to quarrel with them? Peter doth twice vse that worde for a parte, or place in the publike ministerie and service of the church, with which the people did not meddle. ^a Judas (saith Peter) was ^a Acts. 1. numbered with vs, καὶ ἔλαχε τὴν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης, and had his place in this ministerie. So againe to Simon Magus; ^b οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερίς, οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ τούτῳ. Thou ^b Acts. 8. hast no part nor lot in this businesse or function. Where Peter in both places calleth the charge of an Apostle κλῆρος, not that Judas, or the rest of the twelue were chosen by lots, but that he had a part with them in that function.

As for χειροτονία, I thinke there bee more saide, then you will be able to answer; you know where to finde it. Could you proue that the Apostles did make elders with the peoples voices, which you shall neuer bee able to doe, you had some reason to thinke the worde might importe some such thing; but where the worde in his owne nature is but to stretch out the hande, and it is certaine by the scriptures the Apostles in ordaining elders did vse imposition of handes, which is plainelie χειροτονία; (electing by voices they did not vse for ought that can bee proued;) what a malepart guest are you to saie, *It was a rife thing with the fathers, yea with the ancientest of them to alter & change the authentick vse of words;* because the Athenians in Demosthenes time had a course in their publike assemblies to giue their consentes to make lawes and decrees with holding vp their hands, which he calleth χειροτονία? But you bite on the bzidle I perceiue, and so you must, till you learne to be more sober then to condemne

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so manie learned and religious fathers of Ignorance and corruption; which in such a companion as you are, might well be believed; in men of their religion and indgement can by no reason be mistrusted. It is by the way, because you glance at χειροτονία, though the rein you accuse not me that alliege them, but the fathers themselves as corrupters of church discipline, and perverters of their own language; holobē it hades is not in question and not κληρος, or χειροτονία; and therefore safe for hades what you can, or rather for your selfe; since all wise men will hold you more then rash and presumptuous, if you condemne so many without great cause.

^aPag 97.

“ [The classical writers, you say, the maisters of the Greek tongue
“ do use HADES in proper sense only in generall for the STATE
“ OF THE DEADE, the WORLD OF THE DEADE, the
“ WORLD OF SOVLES DEPARTED, indifferently, and in-
“ definitely, meaning as wel those in eternal ioyes, as those in paines.]

1. Corinth. 4

Labour you (Sir Refuter,) to bring into the creede the mar- bones of a græke phrase, or an article of the christian faith: if you be so idle headed, that you strive to haue a new phrase into the Creede, remember the kingdome of God is not in speach but in power. If you intende an article of the faith, pagans and Poets are no such classickall maisters, to be cited or followed in the mysteries of christian religion. What if it were true, which here as your maner is, you auouch with a brazen face, y Homer, Plato, & Plutarch did so vse the word; is it therefore a consequent the scripture must so speak: how many hundred Græke words haue with Pagans their general significations, which the holie ghost restraineth to expresse Gods truth, and serue Gods will: The græke wordes for Apostle, elder, Bishop, Deacon, Gospell, Scripture, faith, hope, repentance, sinne, the law, conscience, concupiscence, and infinite such like, doe they not with Pagans import one thing, with Christians an other thing, and that by the warrant of Gods worde? touching hell it selfe; with your classickall wis-
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ters, and maisters of the Græke tongue, (I meane euen Homer, Plato, and Plutarch) are not δαίμονια, taken for good and blessed spirits, yea for Gods, which the scriptures vse onlie for diuels? Plutarchs booke περὶ τῆς σωκράτους δαιμονίας; of Socrates spirit; which thing also Plato mentioneth in his Apologie and dialogue *De sapientia*, meaneth not Socrates Diuell; neither doth Isocrates prescribe vnto Demonicus by this rule, ὕμνα τὸ δαιμόνιον, that hee shoulde worship the diuell, but rather God; and yet by that word the new testamēt and the Septuagint in the olde intend onelie diuels. Διάβολος with the maisters of the Græke tongue is but a carper or reprehender, insomuch that most of Platoes schollers were called διάβολοι, and yet in the newe testamēt this is the proper name for the diuell. τέτατος Plutarch doth take for the ayre, and deriueth that word from colde; τέτατος ὑπὸ Ἰου-
 χροπίτος κέκληται. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡσίοδος εἰπὼν τέτατον ἡεροέν-
 τα. καὶ τὸ ἐγόντα πάλαι εἶναι καὶ ζέμεν, τέτατον εἶναι. *Tartarus*
 is so termed from colde, whence *Hesiod* calleth it the ayrie tar-
 tare; and he that shaketh and trembleth for cold, is sayd *tarta-
 rizein*. Yet your instructor maketh τέτατος the tayle and
 prison in hell, and saith, S. Peter when hee telleth howe God
 condemned the Angels, taketh all the words from *Homer* and
 HIS PROSE COMMENTARIE. If he meane *Eustathius*
 the Christian Bishop, it is a foule ouersight; if hee meane a-
 nie other, he shall do well to prone, and not to presume that
 Peter read *Homer* and his prose commentarie to expresse
 the punishment of Diuels. Nowe if δαιμόνιον, διάβολος,
 and τέτατος haue other significations and acceptions with
 the maisters (as you make them) of the græke tongue, yet
 in the new testamēt are wholly & onlie referred to note hell
 and the diuels thither adiudged; whie may not the word *HA-
 DES* in like sort be taken from his prophane vse among the
 heathen writers, and bee applied by the Euangelistes and
 Apostles to signifie hell? yea if the opinion which the pagan
 Poets

Apud Athen.

Plutarch. de
 primo frigido,

Poets, and prophane Philosophers helde of HADES were false and repugnant to the christian faith, howe could the canonisall writers of the new testament vse the word, and not change the sence: dare you so much as dreame, that the holy Ghost would canonize, the Poets fables and the Philosophers fantasies of the world to come? or if you be so foolish, as to forget the difference betwene light and darkness, truth & falsehood, wil any wise man entertaine your poetical furies?

“ [The Gentiles, (you will saie,) tooke HADES for the worlde
 “ of the deade, the worlde of soules departed: generallie and inde-
 “ finitelie, were they in hell or in heauen, and this is no error, (you
 “ think,) against the faith.] But this is an open falsehood comit-
 ted against your owne classcall writers; and if your cunning in the graeke Poets bee no profounder, the boies in Grammer scholes will deride it. I praise you fir by your Greeke Poets, Homer, Hesiod, and others what is HADES originallie, the name of a person, or of a place? I aske you none other question, but that which euerie childe acquainted with your Poets canne readilie tell, which your maisters of the Greeke tongue, Plutarch, and Plato confesse; which euerie speech that you, or your Instructor bringeth out of his Poets doth confirme. And here (christian Reader) I must praise thy patience and pardon, if I turne from the scriptures and fathers to the Poets and their fables; I haue no desire to it, nor delight in it; but such is the insolence of these men groundd vpon ignorance, that it may not bee endured, and without some entering into these matters, it will not bee dispated. I will saie no more then I must needes, and omit what is not materiall.

Homer the first and eldest of your classcall writers imagineth that the thre sonnes of Saturnus, whom hee supposeth to bee Gods, deuised the gouernement of the whole worlde betwene them; Iupiter taking the skie and the aire; Neptune the water, with her deepes and riuers: and Pluto the heart of the earth with all the dead of what sort soener. This thirde sonne

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sonne of Saturne, and owner of the deade, is hee that Homer and all the Poets call αἴδης HADES; his name being diversly declined and inflected to serue their verse, but still the same person. Homer in the 15. of his Iliades maketh Neptune thus to speake. We are three brethren, the sonnes of Saturne by Rhea; *Iupiter* and I, τέταρτον δ' αἴδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσει; the third is HADES the ruler of those y^e lie (οὐρανός) in the earth. The whole was deuided into three parts; my lot was to dwell alwaies in the sea, αἴδης δ' ἔλασεν ῥόπον ἡρόεντα, and HADES lot was to haue the darke mist; and to *Iupiter* fell by lot the large heauen with the skie and clowdes. This HADES or God of the deade Homer calleth Ζεύς καταχθόνιος, the god vnder the earth, and giueth him in the same booke these properties, αἴδης τοι ἀμείλιχος, καὶ ἀλάμας,

Homer Iliad. 15.

Iliad. 9.

τένεα καὶ τέ βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἀπάντων; HADES implacable & fierce; & for that cause of all y^e gods the most odious to men. Hesiod agreeth with Homer, that *Rhea* companying with *Saturne* brought him notable children.

Hesiod. in Theogonia.

ἰφθιμόν τ' αἴδην ὃς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δάματ' ἀνείη, Νηλεὺς ἦτορ ἔχων, euen mightie HADES that dwelleth in houses vnder the earth and hath a cruell and mercilesse heart. The same Hades he maketh the gouernour of the deade, as Homer doth.

Ibidem.

Τρέας' αἴδης δ' ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσει:

HADES was afraid that is ruler of the deade vnder the earth. This is that Hades which you so much talke of, to whose house your Poets make all the dead iust & vniust, good and bad to come; and therefore the most of your authorities out of the Greeke Poets and others haue ἐς αἴδης, vnderstanding λόμον or οἶκον, to shewe that the deade go or come to HADES HOUSE or dwelling.

The rest of your classicall writers and masters of the Greeke tongue, both Plato and Plutarch alleadge and approve this fable of Homer. Plato in his dialogue of rhetorick called Gorgias, maketh Socrates thus to saie; Hear then a

Plato in Gorgias.

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very excellent tale which you will thinke a fable, but I a good lesson. That which I will saie, I will speake to you for a trueth. As *Homer* reporteth, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto* deuided the gouernement, after they receaued it of their father. There was a lawe touching men vnder *Saturnus*, and euer was and still is with the gods, that such men as led a iust and holie life, when they departed hence shoulde goe to the Iles of the blessed, and there liue in all happinesse without any euill; and they that had beene wicked and vngodlie should goe to the prison of punishment and vengeance which is called *Tartarus*. The iudges of these matters, in *Saturnes* time, and in the beginning of *Jupiters* raigne were the liuing of such as yet liued, and gaue iudgement the same daie that each man should die, wherefore their iudgement was corrupt. *PLUTO* the and the Gardians of the blessed Ilands going to *Jupiter* tolde him, that there came vnto them men to either place vnmeet for that condition. To whome *Jupiter* aunswered, I will see it redressed. The iudgements are therefore now amisse, because they that are iudged are couered round, for they are iudged aliue, and so many that haue wicked soules are compassed with beauty, nobility, & riches, and manie come to the place of iudgement, & depose they liued honettlie, and so the iudges are astonished; as also the iudges theselues are clogged, hauing their soules wrapped with their eyes, and eares, and the rest of their bodie. First therefore men must be kept from foreseeing the time of their death. The they must be iudged whe they are naked from all these thinges, that is after death, and the Iudge likewise must be deade also, that he may be free fro these lets, and with his soule he must view the soule of euery man newly dead, forsaken of all his kind, & stripped of al worldly pompe, that the iudgement may be sincere. And I foreseeing this before you, haue appointed Iudges, two of my sons *Minos* & *Rhadamanthus* out of *Asia*, and a third which is *Aeacus* out of *Europe*. These when they are dead shall iudge in an open meade, in the meeting of three waies, whereof two shall leade, one to the Iles of the blessed, another to *Tartarus*. The soules of *Asia* shall be iudged

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iudged by *Rhadamāthius*, & those of Europe by *Aeacus*, to *Minos* will I giue the prerogatiue to decide y^e doubts that shall arise in either place: y^e the iudgmēt may be very true which shall send soules to their places. This is that which I haue heard, & beleue to be true, & by their speeches am perswaded there is some such thing. Thus far *Plutarch* citeth out of *Plato* h^e iudges & places for the dead, & al this within *Plutoes* kingdom vnder y^e earth, which they call *HADES*: where as well the places, & pleasures for the good, as the prisons & punishments for the bad are in their conceit prepared & settled. And this if you doubt, read either *Ulissses* descent to *HADES* described by *Homer* in the 11. booke of his *Odisseas*, or *Aeneas* iourney to hel, set forth by *Virgil* in the first booke of his *Aeneidos*, or *Dyonisius* boiage to see *Euripides*, expressed by *Aristophanes*, as also the like adventures of *Hercules* & *Theseus* mentioned by *Euripides*, & others, & you shall see THE WORLD OF THE DEAD, or THE WORLD OF SOULES, be they good or bad, to be in *Plutoes* kingdom, which the grek Poets call *HADES*: & therefore vntill the distemper of your braines make you weary of Christian religion, and incline you to Paganisme, I doe not see what reason moueth you to bring *Homers* *HADES* to expounde the Creede. And were you permitted so to doe, what gaine you by it? For *Homers* *HADES* is y^e region vnder the earth, where the god are kept in pleasant fields, and the wicked in places of punishment, and this is evidently the hell of the Poets and Pagans, to which by your own classicall & antientical exposition Christ did descend, if their *HADES* be receaued into the creede.

[But *Plato* the wise Maister taketh it sometime for heauen, as namelic in his *Phadone*, where speaking in the person of *Socrates* a little before his death he saith. The soule being an immisable thing goeth hence to another place like to it selfe, that is, to a noble, pure, and immisable, in *HADES*; in truse to a good and wise God, whither if God will my soule shall presently goe.] Did you not propose *Plato* to bee an expounder of the Creede, and preferre him as a wise maister be-

• *Plutarch*, de consolatione ad Appollonium ad finem.

• *Aristophanes* in *ranis*.
• *Euripides* in *Hercule furente*.

Tertull^{us} de
anima.

for all the fathers, because you thinke hee fitteth your humour right, I coulde suffer him to haue his praise; but in this case I must saie of him as Tertullian doeth, *Do-
leo bona fide Platonem omnium haeticorum condimentarium
factum; Illius est enim & in Phadone, quod anima hinc exiit
fuit illinc, & inde hinc;* I am sorie in good sadnesse that Plato is
becom the Apothecary of al heresies. For it is his opinion euen in
his *Phadone*, that soules go hence thither, and thence hither.
Your wise Masters report of **HADES** and **PLUTO**, was
the private opinion of Socrates against the common consent
of Homer and all the poets, and against the recerd perswa-
sion of the people. The conceite it selfe is full of pride, er-
rour, and paganish infidelitie, absurditie, and blasphemie.
And yet all this being verie true, Platons wordes importe
no such thing, as you imagine, that **HADES** is that hea-
uen where God and his saintes remaine. And therefore,
Sir Confuter, if you be wearie as well of the Apostles, as
of the fathers, and indeed of Christ will haue Plato to teach
men the mysteries of the kingdome of heauen; Englands
(where God be thanked there is a religious, vertuous and
wise prince, ruling with christian lawes, and a number of
learned and graue both Counsellors, Bishops, Judges, and
others that will endure no such prophanenes) is no fit place
for you to bring in Platons heauen. If I proue not these ex-
ceptions which I take to your wise masters imagination,
let me beare the shame; if I do, looke you & your fellowes how
well you deserue of Christian religion to make the saintes
to rest, and Christ to raigne either in Platons heauen, or in
Homers hades.

Aristopha
in Rania.

For the first it is euident; the Poets all with one con-
sent placed **HADES** BELOWE VNDER THE EARTH,
and not aboue in the skies, nor in heauen. Homer
and Hesiod you haue hearde. Aristophanes maketh Dio-
nysius desirous to see Eupides nowe deade, and there-
fore sendeth him to Hercules to learne the waie, to whome
professing that no man shall perswade him not to goe
to

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to Euripides; Hercules replieth, ποτερον εις αιδης κατω; wilt thou goe TO HADES BELOWE, to see him? where Plutons kingdome is described answerable to the rest of the Poets. In Euripides the ghost of Polydor beginneth the first tragedie thus. ^b Here am I come leaving the dennes of the dead, and the gates of darkenesse: εν αιδης χω- εις αικισαι θεων, where HADES hath his seate severed from the gods. Pindarus speaking περι των ευσεβειων εν αιδης, of the godlie that are in HADES, saith, τοισι λαμπει μεν μενος αελις των εν θάλαδενυκτα κατω; to them the strength of the sonne doth lighten the NIGHT that is there BELOWV. ^k Euripides maketh Hercules after the murder of his wife, and childezen to fate, θανων οθεν περ ηλθον, εμει γης υπο. Dying I will go vnder the earth whence I came; ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h

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gods (or Angels) doe feare. Where in olde Greeke and god
divinitie HADES is severed from heauen, sea, and earth,
and consequentlie must be properlie HELL. And so if you
runne over all the poets, you shall finde that with one ge-
nerall consent they placed Hades not onelie κατω below, but
ὑπο χθονος, vnder the earth. This was the opinion of the peo-
ple. ^k The common people (saith Lucian) perswaded by Ho-
mer, Hesiodus, and the rest of the poets, and taking their poems

^k Lucianus de
luctu

for a law τῶν ποιητῶν ὑπο τῆς γὰρ βαδὺν ἄδην ὑπελκφασι, beleue
HADES to be a deepe place vnder the earth; and that Pluto
Iupiters brother raigneth ouer that gulph, the kingdome of the
deade falling to him by lotte, and hee ordering howe they
shall liue there belowe. The place was so called from the
name of the person whome they supposed to bee gouer-
nour of it; otherwise HADES was the proper name of
Pluto, as Plato himselfe confesseth in Cratilo, ¹ ὁ δὲ ἄδης
οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν μοι δοκῶσιν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ αἰδὲς προσερ-
ῶσαι τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ τῷ, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα, πλεῖστα κα-
λῶσιν αὐτόν. As for HADES the most part of men sceme to me
to conceiue by the name that which is darke, or which can
not bee seene, and fearing the name they call him PLUTO.

¹ Plato in
Cratilo.

And howsoever Socrates in that place, with a very false and
fond reason goeth about to proue, that the name of HADES,
as hee thinketh was not thence deriued but rather ἀπὸ τῶ
πάντα τὰ καλὰ εἰδέναι, from knowing al good things; which in
deede is but a tell, and by no possibilitie can come within the
compassse of that word; yet both Plutarch, and the prose com-
mentator vpon Homer, neglect this utterly, and uphold that
which Socrates refuseth. ² τὸ αἰδὲς αὐτὸς καὶ ἀχέρων, ἄδης
καὶ ἀχέρων ἐπὶ ἡλίου ἔσχον. Hades and Acheron (saith Plu-
tarch) haue their names from (the aire) that is not seene, nor hath
any colour. And in his discourse, whether a secrete and silent
life be best, or no, Plutarch proposeth this etymologie as truer
e elder the Socrates fancie. ³ τὸν ἡλίον Ἀπὸ λανὰ κατὰ τὰς πα-
τέρας καὶ παλαιὰς θεομύθους νομίζοντες Διὸς καὶ Πυθίου προσα-

² Plutarch de
primo frigido.

³ Plutarch de
occulte viuēdo

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πορεύσσι: τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας κήριον μοῖρας εἶτε θεὸς εἶτε δαίμων
 εἰναι, ἃ δὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἂν εἰς αἰδὸς καὶ ἀόρατον ἡμῶν, ὅταν
 διαλυθῶμεν, βαδίζονταν, μηδὲς αἰδῶς ἀεργηλοῖο θ' ὕπνου κείρα-
 τον. **MEN ACCORDING TO THE AVNCIENT TRADI-**
TIONS OF THEIR FATHERS, thinking the sunne to be A-
 pollo, named him Delius, and Pythius. And the **RULER** of
 the contrarie destinie (to life and light) whether he bee a God,
 ora **DIVEL**, they termed **HADES**, being the **MASTER** of dark
 night, and dead sleepe; for that when wee depart hence, wee go
 into an vnknowne and vnseene place. **So** that Socrates per-
 sonation of Hades was both false and newe, euen as his opini-
 on of **HADES** to be an eloquent and bountifull God; and his
 reason is twofold of all, that because men retorne not backe
 againe after death, therefore **HADES** doeth detaine them
 with eloquent perswasions, and great rewards, which maketh
 him to be called *Pluto*. For the scripture assureth vs, that
 men dead can not retorne againe, though they were neuer
 so willing; and though God of his goodnes bestoweth eter-
 lasting blisse on his Saints; yet the rest would faine bee rid
 of their eternall miserie, and can not; neither are they held
 in their state with faire promises, or large benefites, but by
 the vnalterable rigor of Gods iustice. Eustathius vpon Ho-
 mers wordes, that Achilles sent many a worthy soule to **HA-**
DES, saith; ἐστὶ γὰρ αἷς τόπος σκοτεινὸς ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀφανὲς, ἀφα-
 ρισμένος ψυχῶν αἷς, is a darke place vnder the earth, not to be
 seene, appointed for soules, and is deriued from α the priua-
 tiue, and εἶδω to see, and is called also αἰδῶς, and by con-
 traction **HADES**. So when Homer bringeth in Hectors wife
 complaining of her miserie and saying,

Ροῦ μὲν αἰδῶος δόμους ὑπὸ κέντροι γῆς
 ἔρχου, Thou husband art gone to **HADES** house vnder the dennes
 of the earth, Eustathius addeth; τόπος ἐστὶν ὑπόγειος, καὶ ὥστε κε-
 κρυμμένος; αἰδῶς καὶ αἰδῶς λέγεται ἥ γιν' αἰὲρ ἀφανὲς, ὃν οὐδεὶς
 ἰδεν. This is a place vnder the earth, and so hidde from vs.
 Therefore it is called Hades, that is an invisible aire, which wee

can

• Plato in
 Cratylus.

• Iliad. 22

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can not see . And howsoever Socrates pleased himselfe in framing this heauen, as you call it, for himselfe, and a fewe others (for hee admitteth none but Philosophers into it) .¹⁰ Lucian in his Dialogues of the dead, bitterlie mocketh him, as being in Hell with all the rest; howsoever he dreamed of an heauen for himselfe after his departure hence.

old dialog.
Acaci & Mc
nippi.

Plato in Phe-
done.

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Plato in Phae-
done.

How Paganish, and not onelie ridiculous but blasphemous Platoes heauen is, appeareth by this, that Socrates maketh SVANNES his fellow seruants to Phcebus, & imagineth they sing that day they die, *προειδότες τὰ ἐν ᾧ ἄλσ' ἀγαθὰ,* FORESEEING THE GOOD THINGS THEY SHALL HAVE IN HADES. And further saith that whe they perceiue they must die, then chiefly and most of al they sing *γεγυθότες ὅτι μέλλουσι πᾶρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιέναι* *ἔπερ εἰσὶ θεράποντες;* reioycing that they SHALL GO TO GOD whose seruants they are. And those wordes which Socrates spake of SVANNES, foreseeing THE GOOD THINGS IN HADES, you, Sir Con- futer, in the abundance of your wit, note to proue HADES to be heauen. And to this heauen though Socrates admitte SVANNES, yet he accepteth no men, but such as haue bene Philosophers, & those of the purest sort. As for such as vse popular and ciuil vertues, as iustice and temperance, gotten by care and continuance without Philosophie, his words are expressely these; *ἡ τὰς ἐμὸς ἐσιν εἰς τοῖστον πάλιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πολιτικὸν καὶ ἡμερὸν γένος, ἢ πρὸς μελιττῶν, ἢ σφικῶν ἢ μυρμηκῶν ἢ καὶ εἰς ταῦτόν γε πάλιν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος. εἰς δὲ γὰρ θεῶν γένος μὴ φιλοσοφῶσιντι καὶ παντελῶς καταρῶ ἀπιόντι εἰς θεμῖς ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἄλλα, ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ.* It is fit that such (soules) should returne againe into some such politicall and tame kinde either of BEES, SVASPES, OR EMSETS, & after that into men again. But into the kinred of the Gods it is not lawful for anie to come that hath not beene a Philosopher, and verie pure at his departing hence. Others that were fowlsfull and filled their bellies, hee saith must be turned into Ases, and such other beastes

for the clearing of certain obiections. 377

beasts; and oppressours and wrong doers into Wolves, Kites and Hawkes. Of these his plaine resolution is * that such soules wander, vntill by the earnest loue of their bodilie nature, which followeth them, they PVT ON BODIES againe. And such bodies (of birds and beasts) they put on as resemble the manners of their former life. Here is a godly world of soules to be brought out of Plato into the Cræde; and Socrates heauen, why you should fauise, I cannot gesse, except it be, that none but very pure and precise persons shall come thither, to whom you would fauise be the ringleader. But this is not all. In making HADES AND PLVTO, by which the Poets meane the diuell, to bee a wise and bountifull God, hath not your wise Master fitted his new heauen with an excellent head? Plutarch moueth the doubt whether HADES be a God or a DIVELL, that hath power ouer darknes and death: Homer & Hesiod affirm, he dwelleth vnder the earth, and is implacable, cruell, and hated of men. Porphyrie, no meane follower of Plato, concludeth PLVTO (which is all one with HADES as * Plato confesseth) to be the chiefe of all wicked spirits. Porphyries words are,

* Ibidem.

* In Cratylo.

ἵτις δὲ πικρὸς δαίμονας καὶ ἐκὰς τῶν σάραων ἀποστρέφει. καὶ ἐὰν τῶν συμβόλων μόνον ἀναπειθόντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ μυστήρια, καὶ τὰ τέτυκτο ἀποτρέψωμεν πρὸς τὸν πλάτωνα γίνονται, οἷς ἐν τῇ προτάσει ἰδεόμεθα: ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πλάτωνι ὁ θεός, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ μακάριου δαίμονος ἄρχοντος, καὶ συμβόλου διδόντος πρὸς τὴν τέτυκτο ἱερασίαν.
We doe not without cause coniecture that all wicked spirities are vnder Serapis; being led so to thinke not onely by his ceremonies, but because offerings to pacifie, and sacrifices auerting rage are done to PLVTO, as we haue shewed in our first booke. Now Serapis is all one god with Pluto, and therefore he is the greatest prince of Diuels, and one that giueth charmes to drive away spirits. Loe, here is Socrates wise and bountifull god, HADES AND PLVTO, concluded by a great Platonicke, to be the chiefe diuell; whose iudgement Eusebius followeth. And in deede considering his place where he dwelleth, his rage that he vseth against men, for which

f Citatur ab Eusebio de preparat. euangelica lib. 4. cap. 12.

Ccc

be

hee is so feared and hated of them, and his sacrifices in which hee delighteth, as also his power over death and darknesse, it is a cleere case that Platoes **HAIDES** OR **PLUTO** is the great diuell in hell; whose craftes and sleights, because hee knew not as a Pagan, he hath promoted him to be a wise and liberall god; and you haue leafully cited this wise deuise to make him ruler of your heauen, whither you send Christ and his Saints to live there for ever.

Now were it graunted vnto you, that Pluto and **HAIDES** (which by the description of all your classically Poets is in deede the diuell) were one of Platoes gods; are you so little acquainted either with Plato or with Paganisme, that you presently conclude hee is the true God of Heauen? Or that this inuisible place must needs be the kingdome of God? Look but in the latter end of this booke, which you alleage for this very purpose: and there you shall see what pretty fantasies Socrates hath of another inuisible earth farre aboue this, and waters likewise, and trees, and flowers, and fruites, and beastes, and men that liue longer than we doe here below, and without sickness; where also there are temples & woods, in which the gods dwell familiarly; *τὸν αὐτὸν ἰδὲν, ὃν ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπος δεικνύει*, That to see that earth is the sight of the blessed. But what be these wicked fantasies either to the Creade or to Christian Religion? Seeing therefore your Greeke Poets with one consent make **HAIDES** to be a god below vnder the earth; and put vnder his power as well the Elisian fields and seates for the iust soules, as the prisons and dungeons for the vniust; and this fantasticall conceite of Socrates touching a speciall place for himselfe and such Philosophers as hee was, together with Swannes, beastes, trees, flowers, fruites, as it was singular and secret to himselfe, so it was most absurd and wicked; you may by no meanes bring your Classically writers that were Pagans to expounde the Creade;

† Plato in
Phædone cir-
ca finem.

for the cleering of certain obiections. 379

Créde; much lesse must you blinde the holy Ghost in the new Testament, to vse the word **HADES**, as the infidels did; since the holy Ghost onely knoweth and speaketh truth; and their imaginations of the dead, or as you speak of the world of soules, was not onely false and foolish, but impious and blasphemous. And yet if you doe admit them to bee interpreters of the Créde; which I vtterlie refuse for the causes I haue tolde you; they make directly against you. For **HADES** with them was the Ruler or place of soules that were beneath vnder the earth, were they in rest or in paine; and that Christian Religion will assure you must needs be hell, howsoener to beare out your broken matter you beginne halfe to doubt where hell is.

[The authentricke authors of the Greeke tongue vsed *hades* for the place of the blessed soules (you say) and not properlie for hell. So Leonidas cheered vp his men not to feare such a blessed death; to suppe in hell had bene a colde comfort vnto them.] You reade nothing your selfe belike, that you hit nothing right. In Plutarch whome you alleage, this is no comfort giuen by Leonidas; but hee seeing the Persians now in sight, as his men were dining; and in number so infinite aboue his, who were but an handfull, willethe them to make short, and saith; So dine, as men that must suppe in **HADES**; that is, care not for meate since death is so neere; but prepare to fight for your Countrey. It sheweth a resolution to dye, but no consolation after death more than they knew before; which was, that in **HADES** were places as well for the good to rest, as for the bad to be punished; but both were below vnder earth, and in Plutoes kingdome, as the Gentiles supposed. Neither did Homer meane to make a new heauen, for such as Achilles die, but to send them to the place where hee thought all soules did abide; and therefore hee put Achilles soule in Plutoes region vnder the earth, as

well as the rest of the Grecians and Trojans, that died
in that Battaille. And because your Proctor will needes
haue the words that Achilles spirite spake to Vliesses at his
descent to hell, to bee a dictionarie for hades, what place it
is, against which if the Creede had gone, it had been a skoffe
to all Hellas, and had hindered all the proceeding of the Gos-
pell: Let vs see whether his owne dictionarie will not
retourne all his allegations vppon his owne head. If
HADES in the Creede must be the same place, where A-
chilles spirite was, whither Vliesses descended, and where
he saw and spake with so many Ghostes, then apparant-
ly HADES must be the Poets HELL. At Vliesses entrance
Homer telling how the soules came about him saith,

a Odiss. I I.

2 αἰς ἀγίοντο ψυχὰι ~~ὅ~~ ἐξ ἰρίβου :

The soules flocked together out of Erebus; now is the
very place where the Poets place Cerberus, and whence
the same Poet saith, Hercules

b Uiacl8.

b 'Εξ ἰρίβιου ἀξομα κὺνα συγρῆ αἰῶνα :

Was sent to fetch from Erebus the dogge of HATEFULL
HADES. Againe Vlisses mother asking him how hee came
to that place, saith

cOdis. 11.

Ἡ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀποφάντασιν ἰδὼσα, ἔφη·

My sonne how camest thou vnder this darke mist? Of A-
jax Ghost, who would not for anger speake to Vlisses,
Homer saith,

d Ibid.

δ βὴ δὲ μετ' ἄλλας ψυχὰς εἰς ἱερὸν :

Hee went away to other soules in Erebus. There Vlisses saith
he saw Sisyphus

^c Ibid.

с κερτίρ' αλγῆ ἔχοντα,

Suffering grievous torments, as also Titius and Tantalus to endure the like. There he saw *him again*

f Ibid.

εἰδωλον αὐτῆς δὲ μετ' ἀθανατοῖσι θύοις :

represmt. Hercules strength a Ghost : for hee himselfe was
in ioye with the immortall Gods. There Achilles spiritte
tooke so small comfort, that when Vlisses said, & There is
none

gOdis. II.

382 The conclusion to the Reader,

i Aeneidos 6. as went to see his Father Anchises, Virgil your authen-
 k Pag. 101. ticke authoꝝ maketh besides Tartarus, and your goodly Elisi-
 " an fields the eternall habitation (as you call it) of the blessed,
 I Aeneidos 6. many lodgings. As first for sicknes, care, weeping, pouertie,
 labour, warres, discord, dreames, and death, besides for Cen-
 taures, Briareus, Hydra, Chimera, Gorgon, Harpies, and Cerion,
 and sundrie other monsters. There wander the Ghosts whose
 bodies are not buried a hundred ycare before they can get ouer
 the foule and filthie river of Styx. The other side of Styx, is
 kept by Cerberus the Dogge with thre heads; where first
 are placed the soules of infants weeping and crying; then
 such as were vniuſtly condemned to death, next, such as being
 wearie of their liues killed themselues, now willing to suffer
 pouertie, or any paine on earth, so they might returne to life
 againe. In the fourth place are *Lugentes Campi*, the wo-
 full fields of such as died for loue; in the fift, Warriors and
 such as pursued each other with the sword, where Aeneas saw
 all the Grecians and Troians that dyed at the siege of
 Troy. Of all these places, where yet are no punishments,
 the Poet maketh Deiphobus to say to Aeneas, what cause
 dyueth the,

Vt tristes sine sole domos, locat turbida adires,
 To come to the wofull housen without sunne, and lothsome
 places? Then leadeth the left hand to Tartarus, which
 these men so much harpe at, compassed with fierie Phleg-
 ron, and there are the punishments of the wicked; then
 Plutoes palace, and on the right hand, *Amena vireta*
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beata, The sweete springs of
 the fortunate woods, and the blessed seats. Here is the hea-
 uen which this confuter alleageth out of Virgil, and here
 Aeneas found his father Anchises, in a greene vale, viewing
 the soules that dranke of the water of obliuion, and were
 to take new bodies on earth againe. His words are,

Aeneidos 6.

Anima quibus altera fato,

Corpora

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*Corpora debentur, Lethe ad fluminis undam
Securos latice & longa obliuia potant.*

The soules who by destinie are to take bodies the second time, doe here at the River of Lethe drinke the waters of vtter forgetfulness, no way remembzng whatsoeuer they saw or knew, either whilst they first liued, or during the time of their abode vnder earth. And because it seemed strange to Aeneas, that soules should come to take other bodies, though this be right. Platoes fantasie in his Phaedone, Anchises telleth his sonne the secrets of Platoes Purgatorie, heauen, and resurrection, as Virgil conceiued them, who was a great Platonist. When men die (saith he) all the infections of their bodies cannot presently be taken from their soules.

Aeneidos 6.

Ergo exercentur pennis, veterumque malorum supplicia expendunt;
Therefore the soules (of such as are curable, for the desperate and insatiable, are cast into Tartarus, and neuer come thence by Platoes owne words) are purged with paines, and abide the punishment of their former infection, some are hanged vp to the winde, some are plunged vnder water, some are clenfed by fier:

*Quisque suas patimur manes, exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium, & pauci leta arma tenemus,
Dum longa dies perfecti temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit,
Aetherem sensum, atque antri simplicis ignem.
Has omnes tibi mille rotam voluere per annos,
Leuibus ad fluminis Deus enecat agmine longo,
Scilicet inmemores super aethere conuexa reniscant,
Rursus & incipiant in corpora velle reuerti.*

in Aeneidos 6.

Wee euerie one of vs suffer our clenfing, and after that wee are sent out into the large Elysian fieldes, where but a few of vs inhabite these pleasant places, vntill long time hath taken away the bodilie infection, and leaueth the æthereall sense pure, and the vigour of the fierie and simple

384 The conclusion to the Reader;

simple myre. Then after a thousand yeares God calleth all these soules (thus purged and placed in the fortunate seates) to the flood of Lethe, that they may goe to the earth againe, with viter forgetfulnesse of all things, and begiune to desire to returne to new bodies. To these Elysian fields when Aeneas should come, the Poet maketh Sybilla say,

Aeneidos 6.

Ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras;
Aeneas descendeth to his father, euen to the soules below in Erebus: And that Erebus is one of the infernall Gods, as the Poets call them, can bee no question. For when Dido intending to kill her selfe prepared *Sacra Ioni stygie*, Sacrifices to the infernall Iupiter, the Poet maketh her desire to inuocate, *Tercentum tonat ore deos Erebumque Chaosque*, Three hundred gods, and Erebus and Chaos.

Aeneidos 4.

This is the worlde of Soules that Virgil deliuered in his time; which hee collected out of Plato; this is the heauen, that is contayned in HADES and INFERI. Iudge thou Christian Reader, whether this be not the high way to Paganisme, to tell vs that this is the heauen, where the Saints of God are in rest, and whether Christ ascended. For my part, but that I thinke this confuter talketh of that hee knoweth not, I must haue proclaymed him for a Pagan; and therefore after hee saith it, if hee persist to say that heauen is either Homers HADES, or Virgils INFERI, I may not spare to discharge the dutie of a Christian man, to let the whole realme vnderstand, that this is open infidelitie, cloaked vnder the name of Puritie. Platons worlde of Soules where it altereth from this, is rather worse than better. For hee saith, the soules of euill men are clogged with their bodilie vncleanenes, and wander, *in somis abissis, et in lacuibus tenebris*, about tombes and graues, as it is said, and then put on the bodies of beastes, birds, or wormes. And you, Sir Confuter, lighting on the first part of these wordes, openly satisfie them, and letwoly

n Plato in
Phaedone.

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letwoly misapply them. For in steede of (as it is said) you
translate, (*as it is commonly said*) and by that worde „ *Pag. 92.*
COMMONLY of your owne adding, and referred to the
former words, where there is a manifest distinction or
pause betwixt them, you bid the reader note that HADES
is commonly called heauen. For thus you write : Againe,
Plato saith of heauen, that it is an vnseene estate, euen HADES, „ *o Pag. 92.*
as it is commonly called, which you will by the side to be noted; „

where Plato in that place speaketh not one word of bea-
uen. But such is the miserie of your cause, you must belie
your authoꝛs, oꝛ else you will lacke pꝛoofes for your hu-
mours. And touching the soules of all men that are boꝛne,
Plato holdeth their soules had bodies befoze, and stape in
HADES, vntill the time come that they must haue bodies
againg, and therefore all our knowledge heere is but
the remembꝛing of that we knew befoze, when our
soules were in other bodies; which is the opinion that
Terrullian chargeth him with: His owne wordes are,

Tertullian chargeth him with : His owne wordes are,

ἡ παλαιὰ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἔστι· ὁ μαθηματικὸς αἰὶν (ἡ ψυχὴ) ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθὴς μαθηματικὴ ἐπιστήμη· καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο διδόναι δεξιότητος καὶ γνώσεως ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης.

p Plato in Phaedone.

There is an auncient assercion which wee remember, that soules departing hence are there, and come hither againe, and are new borne from the dead. And leaſt you ſhould thinke hee did not conſent to it; hee ſaith ſomewhat after,

[illegible]

deceiued confessing all this; but there is in very trueth a returning of soules to liue againe on earth; and of the dead spring the liuing. Consult you and your Instructor whether you will bring this HADES or world of soules into the Crede; or whether the thiese from the Crosse ascended to this heauen, together with the soule of our Saviour. But if these bee intolerable and abominable heresies to haue soules passe from bodie to bodie; and Platoes HADES be nothing

DD

else

else but a continuall chopping and changing of soules from life to death, and from death to life againe, hale backe your HADES from the Cræbe, howsoever your Hellas will take pepper in the nose to see her follies refused.

Cicero is your last authentike writer that you bring to prove *Inferi* to bee heauen, out of whom you note three things. *First*, that he vterlie mistaked the opinion of the olde Latines, that thought the world of the dead was vnder the earth, and therefore gaue this terme *INFERI*, to signifie the same: this hee openly mistaketh, that the damned soules were beneath in the earth, or at least in such kinde of torments as many did imagine. How much more did he condemne them, that thought all the deceased soules were beneath, vnder, or in the earth? The blessed hee thought rather, as Plato did, to ascend vp to heauen. *Secondly*, you note, That although hee reiecteth the opinion of the former Latines, yet hee retained the Latine phrase, as being now common and familiar euery where; which rose of olde from that opinion, thinking all the dead after this life to be infra, beneath. He had learned to thinke wisely, but yet he spake so, as the vulgar phrase had preuailed, according to Aristotles rule; we must thinke as the wise doe, but speake as the people doe. Thirdly, Tullie saith of this opinion followed great errors. If a man would hire you to speake against your selfe, you cannot doe it in playner manner than here you doe. You confesse that Cicero was the first (for before him you bring none) that mistaked the opinion of the olde Latines (whose seate and tongue in Italie was then 1200. yeares olde) that the world of the dead was vnder the earth, and to signifie so much, they used the worde *Inferi*; which had continued in the mouthes of all men learned and vnlearned, till Ciceros time, to expresse the state of the dead. *Secondly*, you say the phrase was so common and familiar euery where for the world of the dead, that Cicero himselfe, though hee thought otherwise

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otherwise durst not depart from the vulgar phrase which
had so generally prevailed. When by your owne confessi-
on wee haue thus much, that *Inferi* for twelue hun-
dred yeares in the mouthes of all men ignorant, and
learned among the Latines and Romanes did signifie the
state of such soules as were vnder the earth. Now let Ci-
cero say what he can to the contrarie; his authoritie is no
waile so great that it should ouerwatch so long and settled
a consent. Great errors followed hereof Tullie saith. And you
affirme the like, but not so great as Tullie himselfe main-
tayned in reiecting that opinion. For he in some pride of
his tongue and conceite of his wit brought heauen and hell
to be utterly nothing.

That the old Latines thought all men after death to go
vnder the earth I see no proofe; I find rather the contra-
rie confessed by your owne author. He alleageth out of
Ennius, *Romulus in calo cum dys agit enim, ut fama assentiens* Tuscula.
dixit Ennius. Romulus leadeth his life in heauen with the Gods, quæst li. i.
as Ennius approving the same writeth. And againe; *Abijt ad*
Deos Hercules. Vetera iam ista, & religione omnium consecrata.
Hercules is gone to the Gods. These things are ancient and sea-
led with the religious consent of all men. So that Ciceroes
words which you alleage, cannot import that they thought
so of all men, for then they must so haue thought of Romu-
lus and Hercules, which Cicero confesseth all men acknow-
ledge to be in heauen; but they supposed so of most men;
which amongst Pagans, as they were, was no such great
error, as you would make it, nor any way so great as that
which Cicero laboured to establish in place thereof. For he
through the insolencie of his opinion of himselfe, or incon-
stancie of his disposition, or both, would sometimes haue an
Inferi, or hell below; and sometimes he would haue none.
Examples whereof are euident in his writings. In his
spleene against Antonie, he saith; *Uti igitur iurpy, quos occi-* Philippica. 14

x Pro Clu-
entio.

*distis, etiam ad Inferos penas parricidij luent: vos autem quibus-
tremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, prout estis locum esse
dem consequuti.* Those wicked, whom ye slew, shall in HELL
suffer the punishment of their parricide: you that lost your lives
in obtaining the victorie haue obtained the place and seat of
the blessed. In his brauerie defending Cluentius, he cast it
all off as a foolish fable. * *Quid tandem illi mali mors attulit?
nisi forte ineptis ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum a-
pud Inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, et actum esse precipitem
in sceleratorum sedem atq; regionem: quasi falsa sunt, id quod
omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit prater do-
loris sensum?* What haime could (Cluentius) do vnto (Oppi-
anicus condemned and banished for his lewdnes) by killing
him? vnlesse wee beleue toyes and fables to thinke he endured
the punishment of the wicked in hell, and that he was cast head-
long into the region and prison of the vngodly? which (con-
cedts) if they bee false, as all men may easily vnderstand, what
hurt could death doe him, but take from him all sense of griefe?
To make a reason for his Client, that by killing his ad-
uersarie, afflicted with penury and miserie, he should rather
doe him a good turne, then a spite, he vtterly reiecteth, as a
fable, that the wicked haue any punishments after this
life; which in the former place against Antonius soldiers
he urged as vehemently for a truth.

y Oratio in
Catilin 4.

And though in this place he saie, as you say, the ignorance
of the olde Latines, yet in an other place, hee commendeth
their wisdom, for the self same position. * *Itaq; ut aliqua in
vita formido improbis esset posita, apud Inferos eiusmodi quaedam
illis Antiqui supplicia impijs constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet
intelligebant his remeitis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.*
Therefore to terrifie the wicked in this life, THOSE AUNCIENT
Fathers held there were some such punishments appointed IN
HELL for the wicked, because they saw without the death was
no way to be feared. And, Sir Refuter, are you a Christian,
that thinke it woorth the noting out of a prophane Orator,
that

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that it is a foolish fable to thinke, the wicked are punished after this life in hell: Uphold you the proude and lewd conceits of a Pagan against the settled and revealed iudgements of God by his word: dare you adde of your owne head (for your author hath no such word) *that the ignorance OF THE TRUTH* 2 Pag. 106. *beganne this opinion, so as Inferi were under the earth, and the terrors of hell also?* I see your deuile; you would haue hell euerie where; and *TORMENTS OF HELL* you would haue none, but such as Christ by your assertion suffered in his soule here on earth; and because you want good authority to countenance this matter, you reade vs a Lecture out of Cicero, that he thought so befoze you, and that he is a verie authenticke and Classicall writer. But keepe this lesson till you get none but Atheists and Infidels to bee your hearers; they will thanke you for it; Christian eares doe abhorre it; and will detest your prophanes as much as they doe Ciceroes. For if there bee no punishment in hell, sure there is no hell, and he that decreaseth the terror, decreaseth the truth of it: therefore the olde Latines did not erre. But your New Orator thinketh he may builde and ouerturne hell and heauen at his pleasure.

As he dealeth with hell, so doth he with heauen; sometimes he will haue one, and sometimes he cannot tell whether there bee any such habitation for soules or no. And the heauen which he would haue, is a Mansion of his owne making. Such authors you bring vs to expound the Creede, and to outface all the Fathers, that they themselves cannot tell what they say. Where he purposely disputeth of the seate and sanctuarie for the soule after death, he concludeth the whole discourse, as doubtfully as he beganne. *Si supremus ille dies non extinctionem, sed commutati-* a Tuscula.
onem affert loci, quid optabilius? sin autem perimit ac delet omni- quest. lib. 1.
no; quid melius quam in medijs vita laboribus obdormiscere, et ad finem.
in conuenienti somno sepeliri sempiterno? If the daie of our death bring not a perishing but changing of places, what can be more

Ibidem.

to be wished for? But if it utterly quench and extinguish (body and soule) what can be more acceptable amidst the troubles of this life, then as it were wincking to slumber, and shutting our eyes to fall into an everlasting sleepe? *Habes seminum imaginem mortis, eamq̃, quotidie induis, & dubitas quin sensus in morte nullus sit, quum in eius simulachro videas esse nullum sensum?* Thou hast sleepe which thou dayliettriest, for an image of death; and doubtest thou but there is no sense in death, when thou findest no sense in sleepe, which is the patterne of death? Now on the other side for Ciceroes heaven, which you will needs bring into the Creede vnder the name of *Inferi*, hee maketh it no reward of vertue, nor gift of grace to be bestowed where it pleaseth God; but he affirmeth there is a fierie aire aboue, of which soules are made; and therefore as soone as the soule is loosed from the bodie, it flieth upward as fier doth, by a naturall motion, vnto the place, which is like to it selfe, and there stayeth, and is nourished with the selfe same things, with which the starres are nourished.

Ibidem.

Qua quum constet, perspicuum debet esse, animos quum e corpore excesserint, sine illi sint spirabiles, sine ignei, sublimis ferri: accedit ut eo facilius animus euadat ex hoc aere, quem saepe iam crassum appello, eumq̃, perrumpat, quod nihil est animo velocius, Qui si permanet incorruptus, suiq̃, similis, necesse est ita feratur, ut penetret & diuidat omne cælum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres, ventiq̃, coguntur. Quam regionem quum superauit animus, naturamq̃, sui similem contigit, & agnouit, vincit ex anima tenui, & ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit, et finem altius sofferendi facit. Quum enim sui similem & leuitatem & calorem adeptus est, tanquam paribus examinatis ponderibus, nullā in partem mouetur. Ea q̃, ei demum naturalis est sedes, quum ad sui similem penetrauit, in quo, nulla re egena, alitur & sustentatur, iisdem rebus quibus astra sustentantur & aluntur. It is long and tedious (good reader) to be troubled with these prophane follies; but because the confuter laboureth so much to haue

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Ciceroes world of soules and his beateh into the Creede,
and in respect of him disgraceth all other writers as igno-
rant of the latine tongue, these words will playnly shew
thee, what an audacious, irreligious, and heathenish at-
tempt that is; and how absurdly and lewdly he saith, Cicero
had leained to thinke wisselyer then they, that said hell was
below in the earth. For they belivered a truth, and this of
Ciceroes is a false, foolish and wicked fante. The English of
his words is in effect this. These things being certain, it ought
to be a cleare case, that our soules when they leaue the bodie,
whether they be of an acie or fierie nature, do mooue vpward.
A good helpe for the soule with more ease to passe and breake
through this grosse ayre here below is this, y nothing is swifter
than the soule. Which remayning vncorrupt, and alwaies like
it selfe, OF NECESSITIE MUST ASCEND, and pearce, and
deuide all THIS HEAVEN (or ayre) in which the cloudes,
windes, and rayne engender. Which region when the soule hath
once passed, and touched, and perceiued a nature like to it selfe,
mixed of a subtile ayre, and the temperate heate of the sunne; in
that fierie region, IT STAYETH, and maketh an ende OF AS-
CENDING ANY HIGHER. For when it hath gotten like both
heate and purenes (of the ayre) balanced as it were with equall
waights, it moueth no way. AND THIS IS THE NATURAL
SEATE OF THE SOULE, when it commeth to a like ayre to it
selfe; in which needing nothing, IT IS NOVRISHED and
fed with THE SELFESAME THINGS, VVITH WHICH
THE STARRES ARE NOVRISHED and sustayned. Ciceroes
heare is nothing but an heap of heathenish impieties. The
first, that the substance of the soule consisteth of fier or ayre;
the second, that of necessitie it ascendeth vpward as fier doth.
The third, that when it commeth to a pure ayre and tem-
perate heate of the sunne, it stayeth there, and ascendeth no
higher. The fourth, that this is the naturall seat for the
soule, and thence it moueth no way. The fift, that it is
there nourished and sustayned with the selfe same things,
with

with which the starres are. The consequents to this heauen are most horrible. First that all soules by necessity of their nature being in this place, there are consequently none in HELL, noz none in heauen, and so both those places are utterly emptied by your eloquent Master. Next that, when the starres & skies shall be melted and dissolved with fier, then must the soules of all men be likewise dissolved, consisting of the same matter, which they doe, and so utterly extinguish. Lastly, Gods promises, and threats are all frustrate, if he can doe his enemies no moze hurt, noz his seruants moze good, then this heauen affoordeth. And therefore if you bring the world of soules, or this heauen into the Crède, I must refuse the Article for open and euident points of Infidelitie, which I suppose, the Apostles, noz Apostolicke men neuer meant, when they made the Crède.

Yet this place such as it is, Cicero, you say, called it *Inferi*. Say if you leaue lying, you must leaue writing. For you can skant write a true word. Cicero doth no where call this place *Inferi*; but howsoeuer he had his priuate conceits as a Philosopher, yet when he spake before the senate, or the people, he was forced to yeeld to such opinions, and to vse such words as were commonly receiued with all men, and that is the direction which Aristotle giueth by the rule which you alleage, that though we must learne to think as wise men do; yet we must be content to speake as the people doe, not that by so speaking we must alter the nature and propriety of the words, which wee vse; but mynding to aduise or perswade the multitude, we must condescend as well to their vulgar phrases, as to their generall and receiued opinions. And therefore as the people thought all men dying to descend vnder the earth to *Inferi*, so Cicero speaking in open place vseth this same phrase, whatsoeuer he priuately thought of the place where the dead were.

From Pagans (Say Refuter) you returne to Christians, & whom before you accused for altering & changing the antient
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ble of words, you now alleadge as obseruing the true pro-
 pietie of the same word, for which you did challenge them
 before. ^b Hereunto let vs adde (saie you) that the latter learned ^a Pag. 101.
 writers even Christians haue also espied and graunted this pro-
 prietie of the latin word *Infernum* or *Inferi*, as also of the Greeke
 HADES. Ierom saith, *Infernus* is a place where the soules are in- ^c in Ose: ca: 13.
 cluded either in rest or in paines. The farther you go, the more
 you shew, you vnderstand neither Pagans nor Christians.
 The fault you found with the latin Fathers was, that they
 use the word *Inferi* to signifie hell properlie and particularlie, ^d Pag. 96.
 that is the place of the Damned: or else an other particular place
 vnder the earth a part of hell and not farre from hell it self, where
 soules remayned if not in paines, yet in prison, & far from the place
 of eternall blessednes & ioy: but this you affirme is a meere and
 plaine abuson of the word. And within two leanes, when Ierom
 saith the verie same thing, which you mistook before, and cal-
 led a meere and plaine abuson of the word: you confesse he
 espied the true proprietie of the word *Infernus*. This is banding
 of Balles in a tennis Court, and not a searching after a
 truth in the church of God. But when your learning teacheth
 no further, you must needs bzeath out your ignorance, or bz-
 ble your toong, which hath runne so long on a voluntarie,
 that you cannot tell when you bee out, nor when you bee in.
 Ierom indeede was of opinion that before Christs death
 the soules of all, as well good as bad, were shut vp in a place
 within the earth; the good in rest and expectance of Christs
 comming thither, by him to bee deliuered; the badde in
 paines and torments. This place common to both sorts,
 but with different effects, Ierom calleth *Infernus*, which in our
 English toong is hell. Of this place he saith. ^e *Infernus locus*
est in quo anime recluduntur sine in refrigerio sine in pœnis. Hell ^f in Ose: ca: 13
 is a place in which soules are included, either in rest or in
 paine. Here you saie Ierom espied the proprietie of the
 latine word *Infernum* or *Inferi*. Bee it so since you will
 needs haue it so. But *Infernum* in this place both

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no waite signifie the kingdome of heauen; Ergo the true proprietye of the worde *Infernum* doeth not signifie the kingdome of heauen. The Maior is your owne. The Minor by Gods grace I will proue euen out of Ierom. Marke well his wordes.

Hiero. in epist.
taph Nepot. ad
Heliiodorum,

Quid simile Infernus & regna celorum? What likenes haue *Infernus* and the kingdome of heauen? you saie *Infernus* is taken by Ierome for the kingdome of heauen; Ierome himselfe telleth you the one hath no likenesse to the other. Are you not caught like a long beaked thing in your owne grin? and because you shall perceiue it is not a tricke, but a truth that I presse you with out of Ierom, that *INFERNVS* by no meanes is the kingdome of God, and consequentlie must be properlie hell, (except you will build newe receptacles for soules after Christs ascension where they may bee, neither in hel nor in heauen,) you shal haue more out of Ierom touching

*In Amos, ca. 9

the true proprieties of these wordes. *CERNE PROPRIETATES; AD INFERNUM DESCENDITVR, AD COELVM CONSCENDITVR. MARKE THE PROPRIETIES (of these two wordes:) TO HELL MEN DESCEND, TO HEAVEN MEN ASCENDE.* And againe, *Nota ante aduentum Christi, quamuis sanctos, omnes Inferni lege detentos. Porro quod sancti post resurrectione domini nequaquam teneantur inferno testatur Apostolus dicens; melius est dissolui & esse cum Christo; Qui autem cum christo est, utique non tenetur in Inferno.* Note that before Christs comming all, euen the saints theselues, were detained vnder the lawe of hel: but that

*In Ecclesiast.
cap. 9.

after the resurrection of our Sauior they are not helde in hel, the Apostle witneseth when he saith; It is better to be dissolued and to bee with Christ. And he that is with Christ certainly is not detained in hell. There is no shifting from the force of these wordes. Afore Christs comming the saints were in *Inferno*, after his ascension they were not. For hee that is with Christ is not in *Inferno*. Saie if you dare that *Infernus* here is the kingdome of God. For then these absurdities will pursue you.

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you: That after Chyristes ascension the saintes are not in the kingdome of heauen, and he that is with Chyrist is not in the kingdome of Chyrist: therefore mangre your bearde, if you haue anye, *Infernum* with Ierom is trulie and properlie hell, and in no wise the kingdome of heauen, as you imagine. Thus thurue you by your own authoꝝ, whom you produce to make the world beleue that formerlie *HADES* & *INFERI* did signifie heauen: such heauens if you be wise, keepe your selfe from, neither prolesse to expound the Creed by the Clas- sicall masters of the græke tongue, being Poets & Pagans. What is to be thought of that opinion of the Fathers that the saintes befoze Chyristes comming were in *Inferno*, in hel, but fræ from feare or tozment, though in some darknes, as also whence they toke the ground of that assertion, I haue shew- ed in the end of the ⁴ treatise befoze as much as needed to this question; there with ease it may be perused.

*Vide pag. 189
et sequent.

[They misstake, you will saie, the word *Infernum* in the old testament, and thence grow their opinio, that the Patriarks and prophets befoze Chyristes comming went to hell; but the scriptures had no such meaning; for neither the worde Sheol with the Hebrewes, nor the worde Hades with the Septuagint had any such sence, to signifie hell. And this a notable argu- ment, y^e Hades signifieth the world of soules, or generall state of the dead, were they in hel or in heauen.] Wee are all this while out of our proper element to list heathen philosophers & Poets for the meaning of the creeds, & a little smattering in the Greeke tongue made the Refuter so arrogant, that hee bid defiance to all the fathers both græke and Latin, as un- able to vnderstande one pooze word in the Créde, which the church of Chyrist proposed to euery childe to learne, and to euery catechist to knowe. But now wee are returned to the scriptures againe, (for Fathers they leaue as corrupters of the olde both faith and phras) wee shall goe through with moze ease, and ende with moze speede. That Sheol or Ha- des doe signifie heauen, either in the Scriptures of the

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side of newe Testament, or with the Septuagint which are the translators of the Hebrew into Greek, I utterlie denie; and no man living shall ever bee able to make anie prooffe thereof; on which issue I am content to sojne with any man that is learned and sober, for the hazard of either of our credits. If Sheol, and Hades in the scriptures neuer signifie heaven, then can they not signifie THE WORLD OF SOULES; for so much as there is no one place common to all soules departed this life, but some are in hell, and some in heaven; and for one word to signifie both hell and heaven so farre distant one from the other, and so much repugnant one to the other, is somewhat strange, except it could be strongly proved. Chaos did impart the whole masse of heaven and earth before they were distinguished, but since they were severed, and settled by the wonderful wisdom and mighty power of God so far apart one from the other, and so much unlike one to the other, there are wordes in the scripture which note all that God made, but none that compasse heaven and hell, excluding the rest. S. Paul bleth *ἐκτίσας* for the creature, and *καταβολὴ κόσμου* for the making of the world, and our saul our bleth *αἰών* for this world and the next, where nothing is excepted; but that heaven and hel should come to be included in one word & the rest excluded, I see neither able, nor howe it should be. For where wordes are common, some thinges must also be common, as needefull to bee expessed by those wordes; but to soules in heaven and hell no possitive thing is common; all thinges are rather contrarie. Their bodies they want in both places, because they are soules; other wise their States be as repugnant in all points, as light and darknesse, Christ and Belial, yea as heaven and hell in which they are; & therefore as light and darknes, faith and infidelitie, truth and error haue no common worde to compasse them being contraries each to other; no more haue heaven and hell as they are the rewardes of the iust and uniuert; for so much as all thinges in either are direclie repugnant each to other.

Again

• Rom. 8.
• Ephel. 1
• Marth. 12.

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Again that SHEOL or HADES may possibly signifie heauen I utterly deny, because in heauen besides the soules of men, there are the elect angels of God, to whom if anie man dare applie SHEOL or HADES, he must giue me leaue to thinke his iudgement to be weake, and his faith vnfound.

[Sheol and Hades, you will saie signifie all that are deade in either place.] But you must remember, that both these wordes in the Scriptures doe properlie signifie places and not persons. For though the ancient Greekes vsed the word HADES, first for a person, and then for the place which that person gouerned; yet the holie ghost (knowing that the person which the Pagans meant was in deede the Diuell) vsed the worde for the place, and not for the person, except the texte bee figuratiue. In Sheol it was neuer doubted but that it alwaies signified a place, and neuer anie person: For whether Sheol or Hades canne signifie both places, I meane heauen and hell, then canne they not signifie the worlde of soules; for they bee dispersed in both those places.

[It cannot be denied, you will saie, but the olde testament referreth Sheol, as the Septuagint doe Hades, both to the godlie and to the wicked after death.] It is most true that Sheol in Hebrew, and Hades in Greeke are applied in the olde Testament both to the good and bad; The Question is not to what men, but to which parts of men, good or bad, Sheol and Hades are referred. As the bodies of men, good and bad, lying deade in the graue they are sometimes applied; to the soules of the godlie, as detained in either, they are neuer applied. Sheol and consequentlie HADES with the Septuagint, importeth the whole death that is due to sinne, and euery part thereof; but by no meanes heauen, where the soules of the saintes are, nor anie part of that blisse, which they possesse. Since then as well the death of the bodie in this worlde, as the death of the soule in the next worlde were the wages of sinne; Sheol and Hades

doe sometimes signifie the generall state of deade bodies, as when the Scripture describeth rottenesse, silence, forgetfulnesse, senselesseenesse, contempt, dishonour, and such like to bee in Sheol. And the same worde when it is referred to the soules of the wicked as there detained, or of the godly as thence deliuered; for so much as the soule cannot be inclosed in the graue; of necessitie the pit prepared for the soules of sinners must bee, by all such textes of Scriptures, intended. But that Sheol or Hades shoulde signifie the worlde of Soules, as well in heauen as in Hell, neither hath this Refuter brought anie Certe or reason for it, neither will hee ever bee able to prooue it. And howsoeuer one of late hath taken vpon him to talke of those thinges, like one of the Titans with bigge and bombasted tearmes; I, seeing nothing in that fardell of his but Kiddles and raylinges, meane not to alter my course.

Then touching the sense of Sheol in the olde Testament, I take it to bee cleare, that it sometimes signifieth the graue or the state of deade bodies; but neuer the worlde of soules, which phrase the Refuter hath caught by the ende, hoping at length to conuete it into the Creede. But hee must first shewe vs where hee findeth anie such thing in the Scriptures, before wee maye suffer him to make it an Article of our faith. Against it euery place is a prooffe; but for it none that I reade, or they haue yet alleaged. They shifte handes, and in steede of the worlde of soules they bring in the graue, or the state of deade bodies; which is but a vaine flourish, to propose one thing, and to prooue an other. And though you (Sir Refuter) goe to varping of phrases which I thinke is your best skill; as, ¹ The state of the deade, the worlde of the deade, the worlde of soules departed; yet I must let you vnderstande there is great difference betwixt these speeches. Sheol may extend to their bodies whose soules doe liue in heauen: to their soules it cannot; and therefore

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therefore you must not chop in the one for the other, as your instructor doth, who when he would proue the world of soules, falleth by above head and eares into the graue. The one you shall euerie where light on, of the other there is no mention. As when Iacob said to his sonnes, ¹ you will make my hoare haire descend to *Sheol* with sorrow; and likewise when Dauid said to Salomon, ² thou shalt make (*Shemeis*) hoare haire descend to *Sheol* with blood: are there white haire or blood in the world of soules, as there are in the grane? this is the state of deade bodies, but not of soules departed. In the destruction of Core, Dathan and Abiran, the Scripture saith; ³ the earth opened her mouth & swallowed them vp; and their howsen, and they descended, and all that were with them aliue to *Sheol*. Aliue is both bodie and soule in euerie mans etc. For had those two beene severed, they had bene dead. Doe the bodies of men descend to your world of soules? or is it plaine that in this place must be meant by *Sheol* either hell which receiued both their bodies and soules that were in that rebellion against God; or at least the heart of the earth, which receaued them liuing, whereas other men die before they are committed to the earth? or like sheepe (saith Dauid) shall they bee laide in *Sheol*. Are there sheepe, or any resemblance of sheepe in your world of soules; or doth Dauid rather meane, that, as sheepe are bounde, and then slaine, and cast on heapes, so shall the wicked bee handled? nowe as manie places in the scriptures as note *Sheol* to be belowe, cannot be referred to your world of soules; for they are as well on high in heauen, as belowe in hell. And therefore of force *Sheol* must in all those places either importe hell which is belowe, or the graue which is lower then the earth whereon men doe liue. Thou hast deliuered my soule (saith Dauid) from the lower *Sheol*. And Esaie of the King of Babel: ⁴ *Sheol* belowe was afraide at thy comming; and raised vp her mightie men to meete thee, and to saie vnto thee, art thou also weakened; as well as wee? is thy pride depressed to *Sheol*? This cannot be

¹ Genes. 42.

² 3. Reg. 2.

³ Numb. 16.

⁴ Psal. 49.

⁵ Psal. 86.

⁶ Esa. 14.

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bee want of the generall and indefinite state of the deadnes of the worlde of soules, for manie of them were on high in strength and roie; not in feare and weakenesse, as here they are described in Sheol. And therefore ruffle you and your abettour as long as you list with tauntes and tearmes; sell crakes fray not such as bee p̄uise to your lame legs. Again, heauen is namelie exp̄essed, and opposed to Sheol; how can heauen be included in Sheol? To the high heuens what wilt thou do? it is lower then *Sheol*, how wilt thou know it? Will your learning serue you to make the high heuens a part of the lowe Sheol? If I ascend to heauen, thou art there, (saith Dauid to God,) if I lie downe in *Sheol*, there art thou also. So God himselfe by Amos: If they dig to *Sheol* there shall my hande fetch them; if they ascend to heauen thence will I bring them downe. And to the king of Babilon. Thou saidst in thine heart I will ascende to heauen, and climbe aboute the highth of the cloudes: but thou shalt be pluckt down to *Sheol*, euen to the sides of the pit.

To men of anie meane capacitie I thinke it be manifest, that ascending here cannot be descending; e consequentlie that heauen is no part of Sheol, but a place rather opposed against it; albeit your impudencie be such y in the Creed you expound, he descended into hell, by the cleane contrarie, that is, he ascended into heauen. But what will not men of your face and fanke doe? I hope all good men will beware of such expositions. We deride the Glosse of the Canon lawes for saying *Statuimus, id est, abrogamus*, we establish, that is, we abrogate. How ridiculous and audacious then is this presumption, to saie Christ descended into hel, that is he ascended vp to heauen; but hereof in the close when we haue first cleared your sonde conceites of SHEOL AND HADES. The dead praise thee not (saith Dauid to God) nor all that descende into silence. If the scriptures affirme as much of Sheol, how can Sheol be the worlde of soules: yea how can Sheol bee heauen, where the soules night and daie, that is enerlastingly,

do

* Job. 11.

* Psal. 139

* Amos. 9

* Esa. 14.

* Psal. 115.

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do nothing but praise God, and confesse vnto him the honor
of his name: ⁊ Sheol (saith Esay) cannot confesse vnto thee, ⁊ Esay. 38.
neither can such as descende vnto the pit trust in thy truth. **¶** *¶*
(saith Salomon,) ⁊ There is no worke, thought, knowledge, ⁊ Ecclesiast. 9.
nor wisdom in *Sheol*, whither thou goest. If *Sheol* bee the
world of soules, they be all a sleepe, that neither doe speake,
nor thinke any thing. Small are their ioyes, and lesse are
their paines, which they neuer so much as thinke of. So that
neither hell, nor heauen, nor any part of your world of soules
can bee here vnderstoode by *Sheol* in Salomons wordes;
but of meere force it must be the Graue where the bodie ly-
eth void of sense, speech, action, or cogitation. The rest of
the places of the olde Testament where *Sheol* is named, con-
curre with these; and import either the graue, which is
common to the goodly with the wicked; or else that pit which
is prepared for the soules of the wicked, which can bee none
other place, but preciselie and properlie **HELL**. What
testes they are of the lawe and the prophets, where *Sheol*
is named, that cannot bee referred to the graue, I haue
Vide pag. 147.
in the treatise before specified and handled such of them, as
I thought sufficient, especiallie receauing no answer to
my reasons, but the Sphingicall perplexities of an high
minded Quaiſter; whose wordes with mee, though they
bee of the largest size, are but winde. And therefore I rest
vpon the same groundes and proofes, which I make before,
and stande to iustifie, that in no place of the olde or newe te-
stament, where **SHEOL** or **HADES** are named, their
world of soules is, or canne bee vnderstoode; let them name
mee the places, I will presentlie send them by Gods grace
an answer.

As for **HADES** (good Reader) by which worde the Sep-
tuagint expresse the Hebrew **SHEOL**; in all these testes,
where thou seest the worde **SHEOL**, thou maiest assure thy
selfe the Septuagint vses **HADES** in steade thereof, and the
verie same reasons that serue for *Sheol*, serue for **HADES** in

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euerie point without exception: And that maketh me bold
lie to skippe the handling of **HADES** in the Septuagint;
and to referre the discussing thereof till I come to the pla-
ces of the newe Testament. Now the consequent of that
I haue alleaged either heere or before, is this; that by
SHEOL and **HADES** in the olde Testament must needs be
meante either **HELL**, the **GRAVE**, or their **WORLDE**
OF **SOVLES**, which they so much talke of; if no place in
the olde Testament doe necessarilie enforce their worlde
of soules to bee vnderstoode by either of these wordes,
then it remaineth, that in what textes the graue maie not
bee endured to bee the meaning of either of these wordes,
there wee conceaue the place of the damned must bee in-
tended in either of them. Peruse both the obseruations and
allegations before, and thou shalt see both the textes and
the proofes, whie the place of the damned must often bee vnder-
stoode by **Sheol** in the bookes of the law and the prophets.
I hope thou wilt thinke it superfluous for mee to defende it,
or enlarge it, before anie man doe particularlie impugne it.
So that whatsoeuer you prate (Sir Refuter) without
waight or warrant touching **Sheol**, I count it lipp laboz; when
you or your helpers bring anie thing worth the regarding,
you shal find me ready to receaue it, or refute it; as the mat-
ter deserueth.

Vide pag. 147

Sheol then in the olde Testament, and **Hades** in the Sep-
tuagint signifying somtimes the state of deade bodies which
is the graue; sometimes the place of deade soules, which is
hell; but neuer the worlde of soules, whereof some are in hea-
uen; let vs see what force **HADES** hath in the new testament;
or whether it can thence be proued, that **Hades** importeth the
worlde of soules. As if myseries of God were more fully de-
clared by the gospel, then by the law; so the kingdom of hea-
uen was more preciselie scuered from the kingdome of Sa-
tan by **Christ**, then by **Moses**. What **Moses** darkelie sha-
dowed vnder figures, that **Christ** reuealed in plaine wordes;
and

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and therefore hell fire, which is obscurelie mentioned in the law and prophets, is often and openlie named by the mouth of our Saviour; and **H A D E S**, which before extended to good and bad, is now by the writers of the newe testament restrained to the place of the damned. So that Hades with the signifieth hell, and the powers thereof, and not the death of the bodie, much lesse the world of soules. Examples hereof I haue giuen thee (gentle Reader) in the Treatise before; saue that I then reasoned the death of the bodie was not signified by **H A D E S**, which now these denisers haue changed into the **VVORLD OF SOVLES**. I must therefore nowe ouerrun all those places againe, and shewe that the **VVORLD OF SOVLES** cannot bee expessed by anye of those places. Which I will with as much breuitie as I canne, considering the wise Reader will soone bee able to discerne this newe Camisadoe latelie offered with the **VVORLD OF SOVLES**. The first place is, ² Woe to thee *Chorazin*, and woe to thee *Bethsaida*, saith our Saviour; ⁷ And thou *Capernaum* exalted to heaven, shalt bee brought downe euen to hell; it shall bee easier for Sodome in the day of iudgement then for thee. What is Gods curse and threates to impenitent sinners? **HELL**, or the **VVORLD OF SOVLES**? and in the date of iudgement, when their punishment shall bee greater then the Sodomites, shall they go to hell fire, or to the **VVORLD OF SOVLES**? I praye you (Sir Refuter,) where are the Sodomites at this houre? in hell or in your **VVORLD OF SOVLES**? In hell I thinke. Saint Iude saith, ² They do sustaine the punishments of euerlasting fire. Is that your **VVORLDE OF SOVLES**? if it be not, they shal certainlie be where the Sodomites are, yea in worse case shall they bee, and that I suppose must bee in hell, and not in heauen. The second place is in the wordes of Christ to Peter, ² Vpon this rocke will I builde my church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and I wil giue thee the keye of the kingdom of heauen. The **VVORLD OF SOVLES** doth not impugne þ church, the rsoe it is no signe

²Vide pag. 171

²Matt. 11

⁷Luc. 10

²Iud. epist.

²Matth. 16

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of Gods fauour, for that not to preuaile againſt the church. Again, whatſoener preuaile not, yet if hell preuaile, what ſafetie hath the church? Heresie and iniquitie are the gates of hell fighting againſt the church, as well as crueltie. ^b *Ego portas Inferni reor vitia atque peccata, vel certè hereticorū doctrinas, per quas illicī homines ducuntur ad Tartarum. Nemo itaque putet de morte dici, quòd apostolice conditioni mortis subiecti non fuerint, quorum martyria vides cornſcare.* I thinke (ſaith Ierom,) the gates of hell to be vices and finnes, or elſe heresies, by which men being enticed are led to hell. Let no man therefore imagine it is ſpoken of death, as if the Apoſtles were not ſubiect thereto, whole martyrdoms thou findeſt ſo famous.

^b Hiero. in
Matth. 16

^c Hilarius in
Mat. cano. 16

^d Origenes in
Matth. ca. 16.

^e Beda in Mat.
16.

^f Ambroſ lib 6.
in Lucæ ca 8.

^g Greg. in. Pfal.
5 penitentialē

^h Synod. 5. con-
ſtantinop. ſeſſi-
ſione. 8.

^c *Digna edificatione illius Petra, qua infernas leges, & Tartari port. 15, & omnia mortis clauſtra diſſolueret.* It was a Rocke (ſaith Hilarie) worthy of Chriſts building, which ſhould diſſolue the lawes of hell, the gates of Tartare, and all the Cloiſters of death. So Origen, ^d *Porta inferorum dicentur etiam principatus ac potestates, aduersus quas nobis eſt colluctatio.* The gates of hell may the powers and principalities bee called, againſt the which we haue to ſtrive. ^e *Portas inferni hereticam prauitatem nominat, ſine vitia & peccata, unde mors ad animam venit.* The gates of hel Chriſt calleth *Heresies*, (ſaith Bede) or elſe vices and finnes, by which the ſoule dieth. So Ambroſe, ^f *Qua autē ſunt porta Inferni, niſi ſingula quaque peccata?* What are the gates of hell, but all kind of finnes And Gregorie; ^g *Porta Inferni hereses ſunt, quæ quaſi inferorum aditum pandunt.* The gates of hell are heresies, which open as it were the paſſage to hell. The ſiſte generall counsell of Conſtantinople with one ſhall conſent alloweth the ſame. ^h *Porta inferni non praualebunt aduersus eam, id eſt hereticorum lingua mortifera.* The gates of hell that is the deadlie tongues of heretickes, ſhal not preuaile againſt the church. You might haue moze, but theſe are enough. Here (Sir Refuter) you tell a long and a ſoliſh tale of death out of your owne brade, as if Chriſt did promiſe his Apoſtles protection againſt the violence of Tyrants, but not againſt the

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the rage of *Satan*; ¹*To vnderstande finnes and errors as some* " Pag. 111.
of the ancient writers doe, the circumstances of the texts, you "
sate, doe seeme not to beare it. Your ignorant humour is "
lothy to haue it so; otherwise the wordes of *Christ*, respect
the trueth of *Peters* confession, that himselfe was *Christ*
the sonne of the liuing God; against the which faith no policie,
nor tyrannie of *Satan* shoulde preuaile, and so by your leaue
the *Fathers* goe direalie to the meaning of the texte; and
you woulde wrest it to your private fanisie, least *HADES*
shoulde signifie *HELL*; and yet at length vpon aduilement
you ^k confesse it may bee heere the *GATES OF HELL*, " Pag. 113.
and that *HADES* is thus vsed sometimes, and namelie in the "
last example out of the 16. of *Luke*. It is well then that in "
the 16. of *Luke* you perceiue *HADES* doeth signifie *HELL*,
where the wicked are tormented, and did you denie it, the
Scripture auoucheth it; the wordes are plaine, ¹*I am tor-* Luc. 16.
mented in this flame: & againe, least they come into this place
of torment. Then *HADES* without any other addition no-
teth *HELL*, and when *Christ* saith, the rich man in *HADES*
lift vp his eyes; he addeth this as a necessarie consequent
being in torments, to shew that *HADES* is the place of torment,
and not the *VVORLD OF SOULES*.

From thence you leape to the Reuelation; and there, when
Saint *Iohn* saith ^m one sitting on a pale horse whose name was " Reuelat. 6.
death, and *HADES* followed after him, that is, sate you, the
world of the dead. ⁿ It cannot be hell certainly, because hel slai- " Pag. 116.
eth none in that sort. Again, to saie precisely that the fourth "
part of the world should go to hell, I take it to bee a strange phrase "
in scripture. Where first is a plaine p^{ro}ofe, that death and *HADES*, "
are two seuerall things, the one following after the other. For
nothing doth follow it selfe. The doubt is now what *HADES*
importeth. The world of the dead, sate you. The worlde of the "
dead, if thereby you mean dead bodies, is al one with death;
if you vnderstand the worlde of soules, that hath two partes
heauen and hell, which of these two did follow after death to

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destroy the fourth part of the earth? the kingdome of hea-
 uen is neuer proposed in the scriptures as a destroyer, but
 the diuell hath his proper name in this booke, ^m ὁ ἀπολ-
 λύων the destroyer. Againe, this vision S. Iohn saw at the
 opening of the fourth Seale, but the world of soules in hea-
 uen was shewed him in the opening of the fift Seale, which
 presentlie followeth in the next verse in these words. And
 when (the lambe) had opened the fift Seale, I saw (saith Iohn)
 vnder the altar the soules of men slayne for the word of God,
 and for the testimonie of the Lambe. The world of soules in
 heauen was scene in the opening of the fift scale; therefore
 that world of soules was not scene in the opening of the
 fourth Seale; but of force, if by ^{HADES} you will under-
 stand anie world of soules, it must be of those that were in
 HELL. Howbeit because hee did accompanie death that
 was sent to destroy, I take it rather to bee the power of
 the deuill, that is there described; then anie world of soules,
 as you dreame. And that the diuell destroyeth as well the
 bodie as the soule; if it be strange to you, you are a greater
 stranger in the Scriptures then you would seeme to bee.
 Who therto the house vpon the heads of ^a Iobs Children can
 you tell? or who smote Iob himselfe with that loathsome
 disease? [But the fourth part of the earth, you saie,
 could not go to hell;] God graunt no more then the
 fourth part go thither. Fewer reade you, ^o many called
 and few chosen? and ^p though the number of the children
 of Israel be as the sand of the Sea, yet but a remnant
 shall be saued. And why might not the dragon as well de-
 noure the fourth part of ^h earth, as ^q draw downe from heaue
 with his tayle the third part of the starres? Or if there you take
 a certayne number for an vncertain, which is S. Iohns man-
 ner of writing in this booke, why not as well here as else
 where? these therefore are a couple of idle quartels; if the se
 be your best, you are more willing, then able to do harme.
 But by ^h same words in the same booke, we shall better
 understand

^m Apoca. 9.

Apoca. 6. vers. 9.

^a Iob. 1
 Iob. 2

^o Math. 22.
^p Rom. 9.

^q Apoca. 12

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derstand what is ment by **HADES**, then by your wandring
and weake gloze. **Death** and **HADES**, saith **S. Iohn** were cast
into the lake offier. ¹ *It were absurd (you adde) to saie death*
and hell were cast into hell. True; but moze absurd, and moze
blasphemous to saie, that death and the world of soules
shall bee cast into the lake of fier. For then not onlie the
Saints of God, but heauen it selfe should bee cast into hell
fier. Yet if we take the containing for the contained, which
is the most vsuall phrase of the Scripture, as ¹ wo be to thee
Chorazin, wo to thee Bethsaida, & thou Capernaum; as like-
wise ¹ Ierusalem, Ierusalem which killest the prophets; & it shal
be easier for Tyrus & Sydon, with a thousand such euery ther
occurent; then is it an easie & true speech, that hel, to witte
the powers of hell; even the diuels themselves shall be cast
into the lake of fier. And so doth **Andreas Bishop** of Cesaria
expound it, ¹ *τῶν πνευμάτων δαιμονίων, τὰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐχθρὰς*
the wicked spirits the possessours of **HADES**, shall be cast into hel
fier. And so Bede ^x *Mors & Infernus missi sunt in stagnum*
ignis. Diabolum dicit et suos, quem supra in equo pallido seden-
tem Infernus sequebatur. Death & hel shall be cast into the lake
of fier. He meaneth the diuel & his, who before sitting on a pale
horse hell followed. As yet then **HADES** in the new Testa-
ment is not onlie a thing different from death, but even hell
it selfe; and your world of soules in none of these texts can
find any hold or help. Let vs see the rest.

That **Christ** triumphed over hell and Satan, & not over
death onely; the Apostle fully affirmeth when he saith; Christ
y spoyled principalities & powers, made an open shew of them,
and triumphed over them in his owne person; that likewise
hee hath the keyes of hell and not of death onlie, **S. Iohn**
plainlie sheweth when ² he saw an angell come down from hea-
uen, hauing the key of the bottomeles pit, and there binding
& shutting vp the diuell. The same key of the bottomeles pit
was, in the 9 Chapter of the Reuelation, giuen to the Star
that stood from heauen. This keye must **Christ** haue, for hee
saith,

¹ Apoca. 10.
¹ Pag. 116.

¹ Math. 11.
¹ Math. 23.

¹ Andreas. c. 26.
in Apoca. ca.
20.
^x Bede in
apoca. ca. 20.

¹ Colos. 2.

¹ Reuelat. 3.

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^a Reuelat: 3. faith of himselfe that he ^a hath the key of David, which openeth and no man shutteth, which shutteth and no man openeth. Since then there are ^b keyes not of heauen onlie which Christ committed to Peter and his fellow labourers; but of the ^c bottomles pitte, where Satan lyeth bound; which of forces must bee HELL; when Christ professeth in the first of the Reuelation that he ^d hath the keyes *τῆς θανάτου καὶ τῆς ᾗδης* of death and of HADES; who seeth not that HADES there must signifie hell it selfe, the key whereof is so expresse mentioned in that booke? And so when the Apostle maketh two parts of Christs conquest against death and hell, ^e *o* death where is thy sting? *o* HADES where is thy victorie? what reason is there to exlude out of these words, Christs victorie over HELL, since the same Apostle witnesseth, that Christ had a glorious triumph against hell, and the word HADES in all the places of the new Testament, which we haue yet viewed, inferreth hell: [The Apostle (you saie) ^f *speakes not of the Damnation of the wicked; but of the resurrection of the dead.*] And so do I; and therefore inferre, that when the bodies of the saints shall be raised from death, whose soules be already saved from hell; then shall these words be openlie verified, *o* death where is thy sting? *o* hell where is thy victorie? For since by sinne hell gate possession of both parts of man as well of his bodie as of his soule; the full deliuerance of man must free both parts, and the full conquest over hell is the losse of both parts, which in the resurrection of the dead shall be performed and not afore; and therefore then is the time for all the faithfull to thanke God, for their full victorie over DEATH AND HELL, and to saie with the Apostle *o* death where is thy sting? *o* HELL where is thy victorie? But what hath your world of soules to do with these words, or with any other; where HADES is named in the new testament? All these places serue still for hell, and the most of them necessarilie; since either is expresse as a diuerse thing from HADES, or not to bee compysed in the name of HADES.

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But your world of soules is most absurd and false in euery one of these, and cannot stand with the circumstance of the text, the first of the Revelation onelie excepted, there though there be no doubtes to impugne it, yet are there none to approue it. For is it anie curse for Capernaum; to bee brought to the woilde of soules, except you meane hell? Doth your world of soules impugne the Church of Christ? or destroy the fourth part of the earth? or shall it be cast into the lake of fire? And what victorie shall the iust haue against the world of soules in the last day; since their owne soules reioice to receiue their bodies; and against the soules of the wicked they neither may nor will insult? It therefore remaineth that though HADES with the Septuagint signifie either BODILIE DEATH or HELL; yet in the new Testament where HADES is described as a different thing from DEATH, and following AFTER DEATH, HADES of necessitie, being NOT DEATH, must needs import HELL. Of the place in question, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in HADES, I will yet saie nothing, but will come to the words of the Creede, Christ descended to HADES, and search what must be the meaning of HADES in that article.

What I take to be the meaning of Hades in the Creede, where it is said, Christ descended to HADES, as also what reasons lead me thereunto, thou hast, Christian Reader, in the former treatise, thou shalt with more ease finde it there, then I repeat it here; howe much this Confuter confesseth or resisteth, that must I now examine. When I obiect that in a short sum of the Christian faith made for the simple and common people, to repeat one thing twice were needlesse, and against the nature of the Creede: and to vse a darke and hard phrase after a plaine and easie, is unreasonable and absurde; he answereth, *It is true. I hold it unreasonable altogether in the short and vulgar* „
Creed, appointed euen for the common Christians, to vse words darke „
and difficult. And when the same thing is by diuers words expres- „
sed, the later ought to be the lighter and clearer. Therefore I fullie „
grant, in the Creeds speciallie, the phrase must be familiar, triuiall, „
easie and plaine. I bided these things to be obserued in the ex- „

„Vide Pa. 176

„Pag. 126.

pounding the Creede, the words to be proper and evident without figurative obscuritie, the things to be different without idle repetition, and the order to be consequent without any confusion. The Confuter agreeth with me in all these; and he doubteth not but his exposition is such. Since then there be three expositions of that article, Christ descended to HADES; that is either to the GRAVE, or to HELL, or to the WORLDE OF SOULES, which in Christs case (you saie) was HEAVEN; which of these three, Sir Refuter, cometh nearest to the nature of a short, easie, and orderlie summe of a Creede? The first you like not, because it expelleth that in darke and hard circumlocution, which was familiarly and plainly said before, he was dead and buried. The question then resteth betwene the two last, which of the twaine best expelleth the proper sense, and vulgar use of the worde HADES. For the Apostles and Apostolike men (you confesse) did so write and speake, as the people then might best understand. If it bee so, then your exposition, (Sir Refuter) is cleane thrust out of dopes. For neither with the auncient Masters of the Greeke tongue, which were the Poets, nor with the Septuagint, nor with the writers of the newe Testament, nor with the people of that time, in their understanding, did HADES ever signifie the worlde of soules without any limitation of state, or place. Againe that generall and indefinite worlde of soules, without respect of hell or heauen, is no point nor part of the Christian faith. For faith touching Christ must not be generall or ambiguous, but particular and certaine. It is no faith, much lesse an article of the faith, to saie, Christs soule after death went some whither; the Creede muste specifie the place whither it went before it can bee a matter of faith, that must bee beleued. And therefore HADES doeth point out the particular place, as hell or heauen whither Christs soule went after death, before any man may challenge it to be the true meaning of that article.

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" sense, and vulgar use of the worde HADES. For the Apostles
" and Apostolike men (you confesse) did so write and speake, as the
" people then might best understand. If it bee so, then your expo-

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" If any doe aske particularlie whither is this? You an-
" swer, namely into heauen; for whither should the Saints go also?

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This in deede is a familiar, triuiall, easie, and plaine exposition, **Christs soule DESCENDED DOWNE TO HADES**; that is, it **ASCENDED VP TO HEAVEN**. And so by taking heauen for hell, and ascending vppe for descending downe, you haue quickelie made an ende of this matter. While then goe on with your wise spasser, and make **HADES**, which is the chiefe Diuell, to bee God, and you haue made a perfect exposition of the Creede, fitte for such as attribute to Diuels, what they shoulde attribute vnto **GOD**. Was this the plainest and easiest waie for the Apostolike men to teach the people, **Christs soule ascended vppe to heauen**, by saying bee **DESCENDED TO HADES**? And did the people so best vnderstande them? You that expounde this by the cleane contrarie, and saie they be best so vnderstande, no maruaile if you arrogate so much vnto your selfe in framing the Scriptures to your fancies; you make with little studie ppoone a speedie exposition of the Scriptures. But, Sir, wise men that regarde their faith more then your follies will aske; where you kinde descending for ascending, and **HADES** for heauen? If you pretende Plato, they will tell you, that to embrace a private conceite of Socrates against all the former Greekes, against the Septuagint, against the Evangelists, and Apostles, and euidentlie against all the fathers is not to expounde an Article of the faith, but the next waie to bring Paganisme into the Creede; and that by so licentious and lewde a trade of open peruerting the wordes of the Creede, and taking sowre for sweete, colde for heate, euill for good, that nothing shall stand sounde if this bee admitted. [It is, you saie, an Hebrew phrase. ¹ So Iacob saie, I, ² Pag: 126 will goe downe mourning to my Sonne vnto Sheol, yet Iacob, thought not to goe to hell to his sonne, but among the soules of, the godlie dead, that is to saie, into heauen.] It hath bene intellect well tolde you, that Sheol neuer signifyeth heauen in all the Scriptures, but that Iacob meant he woulde goe mourning vnto Sheol, that is to his Grave, refusing to take any comfort whilen he liued, since his soune

was dead. You like a tyrant over the Scriptures; will have what sense pleaseth you in euery place; and then you saie it is plaine and common. In dede your ignorance and insolencie is verie plaine and common; but the interpretations which you make of Scripture, be absurde and more then folish. A man liuing maie well be said to descend into his graue; liuing he standeth, dying he lieth downe; and the face of the earth on which we are, is higher then the bowels of the earth where wee lie buried; but of a soule ascending vp to heauen, to say it descendeth to hell, is a phrase of your making, and fit for your faith; which is guided more by will then by truth. When you proue these two points, that HADES IS HEAVEN in the Scriptures, and that DESCENDING IS ASCENDING, we will hearken to your exposition; till then wee will leaue it as a distemper of your vnsettled brayne.

For the last exposition of the three which remaineth, I haue shewed thee (Christian reader) by the particular circumstances of the Scriptures, that in the continuall vse of the new Testament HADES signifieth HELL, which is the place where the wicked after this life are in torments. I haue also in the sermons before examined the words of Dauid, alledged and applied by ^m Peter to Christ, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, whence Peter concludeth Christs soule was not left in hel; as likewise the words of Paul importing that Christ descended εἰς τὴν ἀβυσσόν to the bottomlesse deepe, which worde throughout the new testament both signifie nothing but HELL; I haue noted how anciently Christs local descent to hel was preached in the church, even by one of the ⁿ seuenie disciples (that were conuersant with Christ) & continued to this date with the full consent of the fathers, both Greeke & Latin without exception, and by the whole church of Christ received; I must not iterate that which there is so latelie written. The words are saie and plain, there is no danger nor difficultie in them, the end of Christs descending thither being both honourable to him, and comfortable to vs, as I haue before deliuered it. Lastly, I see no cause either in this Confuters ridiculous pamphlet, or in his abet-

Vide pag. 170
& sequent.

¹ Psal. 16.
² Act. 2.

³ Luke. 10.

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toris tempestuous and furious libell, why anie man should dislike
or distrust this exposition, as trust for the wordes, or unsound
for the faith of the Creede. To load thee with authorities were
to make an other volume; thou shalt onelie see I haue not
deuised it of mine owne heade, but that it hath both antiquitie
for it, and authoritie with it, and so I will make an ende.

Cyprian in his Sermon of Christs passion; *° Ipse dicit ad pa-
tre, non derelinques animā meam in inferno, nec fines corrumpi car-
nem meam in sepulchro, quia ubi in praesentia illius, effractis inferis
est captiuata captiuitas, praesentata victrice anima in praesentia pa-
tris ad corpus suum sine dilatione reuersus est,* Christ saith to his
Father, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer my
flesh to rotte in the graue, because as soone as captiuitie was
subdued, hell being broken vppe in his presence, and his trium-
phing soule presented to the sight of his Father, hee without
delay returned to his bodie. Arnobius writing vpon the
hundredth thirtie and seventh Psalme; *Postea vidit Inferos, &
longè factus est non solum à caelis, sed & ab ipsa terra: Abissi pro-
funda descendens scidit, & quia inde reuerteretur ad superos, & quia
a superis remearet ad caelos.* Afterward Christ went to hell, and
was farre not onelie from heauen, but from the earth: descending
hee brake the bottomlesse deepe, that hee might thence returne to
life; and from thence to heauen. Lactantius in his verses of the
resurrection, saith.

*Tristia cessarunt inferna vincula legis,
Expauitq; Chaos luminis ore premi.
Depereunt tenebra, Christi fulgore fugatae,
Aeterna noctis pallia crassa cadunt.*

The fearefull bands of the infermall power ceased, and Chaos
was afraid to be oppressed with the light of his presence. The dark-
nesse of hell was chased away with the brightnes of Christ, and the
grosse coverings of eternall night vanished. Athanasius, *Ipse est dei
virtus, qui infernum expugnavit, & imperium Diaboli demolitus
est, qui Deus in descendendo, deus in ascendendo, corpus suum à morte
excitatum patri representauit, ac vindicauit à morte sub cuius im-
perio tenebatur.* Christ is the power of God, which surprised hell,

*° Cyprian. de
passio Christi.*

*° Arnobius in
psal. 137.*

*° Lactan. phos-
nix de resur-
rect.*

*° Athanas. ad
Liberium.*

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*Hilarius de
trinitat. lib. 4.

*Basil. in psal. 44

*Nazianzen.
in christo pa-
tiente.

*Fulgentius ad
Thrasimundum.
lib. 3.

*Beda in
Psalm. 15.

and ouerthrew the kingdome of the diuell; who being God in descending, and God in ascending, presented his body raised from death to his father, and tooke it from death, vnder whose power it was helde. Hilarius. *Hic ergo unus est mortem in inferno perimens, spei nostra fidem resurrectione confirmans, corruptione carnis humana gloria sui corporis perimens.* Christ alone is hee that in hell killed death, confirmed our hope with his resurrection, and destroyed the corruption of mans flesh, with the glorie of his owne bodie. Basil: *Habes ergo myrrham ob sepulturam, guttam ob descensionem ad infernum, quod non inefficax in sepulchro permanserit, sed ad infernum descenderit, gratia dispensationis circa resurrectionem absolunda, ut qua de seipso erant oracula Prophetarum, vniuersa expleret.* Thou hast (in this Psalme) myrrhe for his buriall, dropping for his descent to hell, because hee lay not in his graue without force, but descended into hell to dispatch thinges needfull for his resurrection, that hee might fulfill all that the Prophets forespake of him. Nazianzene maketh Christes mother to say of him, *At ubi veneris in atram nocte Plutonis domum, Infernum acerbo iaculo defixeris.* But when thou wentest to the house of Pluto, where darke night is; thou diddest thrust thorow hell with a wounding speare. Fulgentius: *David spake of Christes resurrection, that his soule was not left in hell, nor his flesh saw corruption. In this then the Godheade of Christ shewed the power of his impassibilitie, that being euery where, alwaies, and vspeakeable present, it wanted not to his flesh, when it suffered not his soule to feele any paine in hell, neither forsooke his soule in hell, whiles it kept his flesh from rotting in the graue. Beda our countriman shall be the last, *My flesh (saith David of Christ) shall rest in hope, expounding in what hope; to wit in this hope, that though my soule descend to hell, yet thou wilt not leaue it to be possessed of hel. The rest go all cleer that way, applying þ words of David cited by Peter, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell; to Christes descent thither after death. And howsoeuer the fathers incline to thinke, as Ierom did, that the saints before Christes comming were inclosed in a place vnder the earth, expecting Christes comming to bee carried vp to heauen (of which I haue spoken

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spoken as much as is needfull in the treatise before; yet they absolutelie acknowledge that Christ descending destroyed & sequent the kingdome of Satan, and freed all the faithfull from euer comming thither.

The rest of the Confuters talke is like & froth of the sea, which wind & wates roll to and fro; sometimes he runneth this way, and then backe againe another way; saying and unsaying hee knoweth not how, no; what. Sometimes he saith the Creede, and namelie this article Christ descended to Hades could not bee made long after the Apostles time; whereof Ignatius and others most ancient doe speake. In another place he saith; We find almost all the Creedes, certainlie the most ancientest, and the best of them to want these wordes of Christs descending into hell. In one place he saith, The Creedes which we find in Ignatius, Irenaeus, Iustinus Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Augustinus, the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Toletan, Ephesine, al these neuer thought that Christs going downe to hell, was anie distinct or certaine Article of the Christian faith. And yet before he confessed Ignatius and others most ancient doe speake namelie of this Article. But, Sir, haue these Creedes which here you cite, all the rest of the Articles that are in the Apostles Creede? I hope there want in some of them a good manie. For these rehearsals in the eldest Fathers doe but touche some of the Articles of the Creede, and shewe that there was such a compendious brieft of the faith receiued amongst Christians from the beginning. The Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and others, want euerie one of them sundrie Articles that are in the Apostles Creede, and adde other that are not there; so as in deede they are rather expositiones then recitals of the Apostles Creed. And yet I hope Athanasius creede hath this Article in precise wordes, and rehearseth it as a part of the Catholike faith, that Christ descended into Hell. Neither is there anie one of these Fathers whome here you haue named, as Ignatius, Irenaeus, Iustinus Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, but they expressely touche and teach Christs last call descent to Hell, as all the rest doe without exception.

And

Vide pag. 189.

Pag. 93.

Pag. 165.

Pag. 167.

Pag. 93.

Ignat. ad Trall.

Iren. li 5. c. 31.

Iustin. in dia-

lo. cum tryph.

Tertul. de

anima

Orig. in cap.

ep. ad Rom.

Aug. epi. 99.

And if Councils will content you, you shall not goe farre for both Provinciall and Generall. The Council of Alexandria that wrote to repress the heresie of Nestorius, maketh the spoiling of hell a part of Christs resurrection, and saith; *Tertia Die renixit, expoliavit infernum*, Christ rose againe the thirde daie, having spoyled hell. This confession was read and allowed as Catholike in the first generall Council of Ephesus, in the great Council of Chalcedon, and in the fifth generall Council of Constantinople. So that fathers and Councils both oecumenicall and provinciall, have received and approued this article even from the foundation of Christs church; as a part of Christs resurrection, howsoever they did not alwayes annere it to their Creedes.

^aEpist. Cyril.
& Synod. Alex.
an. ad Nestor:
^cVide acta cō-
cilii Ephesini
& 5. Synod.
Constan. Sess. 7.

¹Pag. 166.

With like follie and inconstancie, he saith it is *the natural and necessarie denision of the articles of the Creede*, that these, Christ suffered, was crucified, dead, buried, descended into hell, should concerne Christs humiliation, and hee supposeth euery sensible man will confesse so much whereas he himselfe expoundeth the last of them to haue this meaning, that Christs soule ascended to heaven. How to ascend to heauen euery boy knoweth is a part of Christs exaltation, and not of his humiliation. Howe his note booke denieth the Creede, I know not, but Saint Paule whence this diuision hath his ground, saith this is Christs exaltation, that at the name of Iesus euery knee should bow of things in heauen, earth, and vnder the earth, which is hell. His humiliation stretcheth no farther then the death of the Crosse, then beginneth his exaltation. With like discretion when I alledged the Parable from Christs owne mouth, that his triumph ouer Satan must haue three parts, the ouerrunning, the binding, the spoiling of Satan, and his kingdome; and further from that Parable I deriued nothing; This wisdom to shew himselfe learned, crieth out, *a fine toy* or rather a shamefull gloze by *vsuorie allegorizing to corrupt the Text*. Is this a good waie to prooue Articles of the fayth, *vsu* delcet by Allegories? As if the moste parte of Christs doctrine were not deliuered by Parables and Allegories?

^bMar. 12.
Luke. 11.

¹Pag. 161.

The

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The parables of the Sower, of the labourers in the vineyard, of the husbandmen killing the hire, of good trees & straight gates, of the lost sheepe, of the unfaithfull Steward, and unrighteous Iudge; of Tares sowed by the enemy, and haruest at the end of the world, of the great Supper, and wedding garment, of the wounded Samaritan, and wise virgins; of the prodigall sonne, and cuill seruants; one that neglected his masters talent, the other that imprisoned his fellow, of the rich man & Lazarus; to be short the allegories of light, of salt, of leauen, of chaffe, of the vyne and branches, of the good shepheard, and a thousand such in the prophets, Euangelists and Apostles, do they teach no matters of faith: What Wizard was euer so blind as to see, no points of faith maie be proued by allegories: Had I extended the Parable farther then Christ himselfe did, or applled it to anie other purpose then he did; there might haue bene some cause of quarrell, but keeping my selfe preciselie both to the Scope and words of our Saviour, I could not tread awrye. But in a brauerie to chalenge all the Parables and allegories in the Scriptures, as unfitte to teach points of faith, neuer came in anie sober mans head.

As you vse the Scriptures, so you vse the Synode of this Realme, that is you arrogantlie and absurdlie falsifie it. ¹ Pag. 181
The manifest meaning of the whole Synode (of this Realme,) which is our publik doctrine and established by law in England. APPARENTLY RENOVNCETH, (saie you) this doctrine of Christs going downe to the hell of the damned. If you proue that you saie, I must confesse it is verie materiall; & by Gods grace I my selfe will reuoke all that I haue said in this point; but if you brag not onlie without cause, but against the verie trueth and tenor of their proceedings, are you not worthe in Steele of D. J. to be named W. F. but let vs heare how this appeareth: ² Pag. 172
Euen thus; the Synode before holden in king Edwards time affirmed this doctrine directly and expressly (in their article of Christs descent to hell.) This Synode comming after repeateth, and ratifieth a part (of that article) in expresse words; but part of it euen all and euerie whis that containeth this doctrine expreslie of Christs going downe to the hell of the damned, all this I saie our Synode, (anno 1562) cutteth off, putteth out, casteth awaie. The words are these of the former Synode, Quemadmodum Christus

418 The conclusion to the Reader.

Articlu. 3

Page. 172.

Christus pro nobis mortuus est & sepultus, ita est etiam credendum ad Inferos descendisse. Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro iacuit, spiritus ab illo emissus cum spiritibus qui in carcere sine in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisq; predicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus. As Christ died for vs and was buried, so also it is to be beleeued, that he went down to hel. For his body lay in the graue vntil the resurrection; his spirit which he breathed out was with the spirits that were in prison or in hel, and preached vnto them, as the place of Peter vvitnesseth. b But our Synode since correcteth it herein & saith but thus only, Quemadmodum Christus pro nobis mortuus est & sepultus, ita est etiam credendum ad inferos descendisse. As Christ died for vs and was buried, so we are to beleene also, that he went vnto the dead. This therfore in the is scene manifestly (as I said) to renounce and abrogate this particular sense of Christs descending, & HE VVENT AFTER DEATH TO HELL. Is this all you haue to saie (Sir Refuter,) then when your tender is deuised you shall haue a part for your good collection. You collect that the later Synode by leauing out certain wordes of the former renounceth that CHRIST AFTER DEATH VVENT TO HELL; and that which it retaineth of the former Synode in expresse wordes is this; IT IS TO BE BELIEVED THAT CHRIST VVENT DOWN INTO HELL. So in your iudgement by beleeuing that Christ wente downe into Hell, they renounce, that Christ went to hell. If it were a matter of sight I shoulde aske whether you had anie eyes or no; nolue it is a matter of reason I must more doubt whether you haue your fine wittes or no. Set your inference to the viciue of all men. The Synode in her spatest time agreeth, It is to be beleeued that Christ vvent downe into hell. Ergo they apparatly renounce that Christ went to hel. This is your conclusion; shew it to any tapster or tinker in Englande and see whether he will rewarde you with a mocke or no.

[But they leaue out the latter part of the Article which the former Synode concluded.] So they leaue out that Christs bodie vvas in his graue vntill his resurrection, which are the wordes of the former Synode. Is the omitting of this a manifest renouncing and abrogating of it? God forbid [But the first Synode in king Edwardes time added farther, you saie, that Christs spirit vvas vvith the spirits detained in Prison or in hel,

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hel; and preached vnto them. ¶ First then tell your abettor, that
at the Realme will take him not only for a Railor against al ho-
netty, but for a lier against al duty, that voucheth so confidently
king Edward the first and his subjects held that Christ his soule
neuer vvent to Gehenna; & the realme knoweth the Q. othe;
as also the Q. aduencureth her eternal state. These be no states
to come within the compasse of his uncleane mouth: He may
doe well to remember whs they be, of whom it is written: They
despise gouernment, & speak euil of those that are in authori-
tie, as raging vvaues of the Sea, foming out their owne shame;
And to take heed, that he proue not to true a prophet against
himselfe in paying the price of misusing his liege and Soue-
raigne Ladie, and hrr whole Realme. But I with him re-
pentance and so I leaue him. Secondlie, (Sir Refuter) you
maie see three thinges in the latter wordes of that Article in
king Edwardes Synode, which are verie wiselie with si-
lence ouerskippt by the Synode in her Maiesties time;
and wherem for my part I thinke they did verie well not to
adde to this Article, anie time, purpose, or prisoners, when,
why, or to whome Christ descended. But therein to imitate
the wisdome of the best ages, who kept this Article as they
founde it without enterlacing it with anie newe additions.
For in the later wordes of that former Synode nowe left out
are three thinges that cannot bee iustified by the Scriptures.
1. that the Spirits of the iust vvere in hell. 2. that Christ there
preached vnto them. 3. that he staid there till his resurrecti-
on. These three pointes contained in the Article of that Syn-
ode; were aduiseable and profitable suppressed by the Synode
kept in her maiesties time; and these are the pointes which I
my selfe impugne in this Treatise, as hauing no iust nor
toletable grounde in the Scriptures. But these thinges be-
ing drowned by omission, what is that to the rest of the article,
which the later Synode embraceth as a matter necessarie to be
belieued: for thus they resolve; As Christ died for vs & vvas bur-
ied; so also it is to be beleueed **HE VVENT DOWN INTO HELL.**
And though you woulde weaken their resolution with a false
translation, as your maner is, by making them saie, we are to
beleeue that Christ vvent vnto the dead, yet may you gain no
thing by that, for we haue publike assurance & allowance that
h h 2. **speir**

Iudæ epistola;

Articul. 3

their words were and are it is to be believed that Christ went
DOVNE INTO HELL. Their words in Latin were, you will say, *Chri-*
stus descendit ad inferos descendisse? But the same Bishops & the
same Clergie that were at the first Synode in the 5. of her Mai-
esty, assembling again in the 13. years of her highnes reign, did
themselues english it as I report it, and offered it to the Prince
& Parliament in those words to be confirmed, which according-
ly that high Court did. So y^e now not these words, Christ de-
scended into HADES, though they be true as being the originall
words, much lesse yours Christ went to the dead, but precisely
these, Christ went downe into hell, are the faith & doctrine which
the Church & Realme of England professeth, or which the lawe
establissheth; and what they meane, were it not for your able
quirckes, is some perceaued euen of the simplest.

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" You conclude that the publike sentence of our Church, yea
" the publike law of our land is against this opinion of Christs descen-
" ding into hell. And I conclude likewise that which is in the bone
" will neuer out of the flesh; with arrogance and ignorance you
began, and so you will end. If HELL in english be HELL; & GOING
DOVNE be DESCENDING, the both the Church & the law of Eng-
land directly, expressly, precisely mayntayneth CHRISTES DE-
SCENDING INTO HELL. If HELL in english be HEAVEN; & GOING DOVNE
be GOING VP, then the Church and lawe of England fauoureth
your fanisie. And hereof I am wel content thou shalt be Judge.
(Christian Reader) that vnderstandest best thine owne tong.
For the latine *INFERNUM* and the Greeke *HADES* I am content to
be tried by all the Fathers, Greeke & Latine that ever wrote
in the Church of Christ. If these men cannot keepe their quarter
elcere nor upholde their conceite, but they must exclude all
Greeke, Latine, and English diuines since Christs time from
vnderstanding euerie man his owne naturall toong; I will
see their bzaines better settled, and their mouthes better tem-
pered, befoze their philosophicall follies and Rabbinitall fanisies
the one sorte being strangers, the other enemies to the faith of
Christ, shall draw mee from my Creede. And so I wish thee
(Christian Reader) as my selfe; mercie and grace from the
Lord Jesus, and commit thee to God.

FINIS.

